Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-146
Tuesday
1 August 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-146 *1 August 1989*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

More on Yazov's Remarks on SS-23 Missile Production *[Moscow International]* 1
TASS Interviews Yazov on UK Visit 1
Zholkver Comments on Missile Destruction *[Moscow Radio]* 3
Scientist Interviewed on Verification Experiment *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 18 Jul]* 4
Geneva Delegates Cited on Conference, Arms Issues *[TASS]* 5

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfilyev Comments on Higgins Death, Iran Talks *[TASS]* 6
Perfilyev Conducts News Briefing 31 Jul 6
Hails World Cooperation on Cambodia *[TASS]* 6
Views Shevardnadze-Alatas Talks *[TASS]* 6
Lauds UN Central America Resolution *[TASS]* 7
Discusses Japanese Grave Visits *[TASS]* 7
Comparison of Shevardnadze-UN Chief Meeting *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 7
USSR-EC Talks on Fishing End in Moscow *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 25 Jul]* 7
Ivanov Says Goals Achieved *[Moscow TV]* 8
Theory of Western Victory in Cold War Rebutted *[TRUD 15 Jul]* 8
Socialist International Congress Reviewed *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 10
Problems, Prospects of Cultural Exchange Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 25 Jul]* 12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Akhromeyev Addresses Legislators, Meets Bush *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 14
Bush's Reaction to Reports of Higgins Death Noted *[TASS]* 14
More on Bush's Reaction *[TASS]* 15
Comparison of Shevardnadze-Baker Meeting in Paris *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 15

China

Qian Qichen Meets Baker at Paris Conference *[TASS]* 15
National People's Congress Committee Session Noted *[Mulatov on Moscow International]* 16
Tian Jiyun Visits USSR Energy Corporation *[Moscow International]* 16
Soviet, Chinese Attitudes on Regional Conflicts *[Moscow International]* 17
Song Jian-led PRC Delegation Returns Home *[Moscow International]* 18
Yazov Greets PRC Defense Minister *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Aug]* 18
Chinese Premier Cabled on Sichuan Province Flood *[Moscow International]* 18
PRC Official on Independent Trade Unions *[TRUD 8 Jul]* 18
USSR Trade Union Visit to PRC 'Successful' *[TRUD 12 Jul]* 20
USSR-PRC Talks On Fishing Industry Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN, 20 Jul 89]* 20

Northeast Asia

Japanese, USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers To Meet *[Tokyo KYODO]* 21

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Shevardnadze at Cambodia Talks 21
Discusses Cambodia, Baker Talks *[Moscow TV]* 21
'Disappointed' With Sihanouk Speech *[TASS]* 22
Meets Indonesian Foreign Minister *[TASS]* 22
Leaves Paris for Tehran *[TASS]* 22
Comparison of Shevardnadze Cambodia Speech *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 23
Comparison of Indochinese-Shevardnadze Meetings *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 23
Qian Qichen Speech on Cambodia 'Peculiar' *[TASS]* 23
Paris General Debate on Cambodia Ends *[TASS]* 23
Report on Opening of Cambodia Conference *[TASS]* 24
Relations, Trade With Australia Discussed *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* 24

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Shevardnadze's Visit to Iran 26
Shevardnadze Arrives in Tehran *[TASS]* 26
Begins Talks With Velayati *[TASS]* 26
Shevardnadze Meets Indian Counterpart in Paris *[TASS]* 27
TASS Notes Hanging of Higgins, Group's Statement 27
Gorbachev Congratulates Hashemi-Rafsanjani *[TASS]* 27
'Stable' Iranian Relations Applauded *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 27
U.S.-Soviet Afghanistan Talks Open in Stockholm *[TASS]* 28
Kabul Residents Leave Under Rebel Bombardments *[TASS]* 28
Solton on U.S., USSR Stands on Afghanistan *[Moscow International]* 29

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Cables Angola's Dos Santos *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 29
Reportage on Zambian Delegation's Official Visit 30
Parliamentarians Arrive *[PRAVDA 25 Jul]* 30
Lukyanov Receives Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Shevardnadze Meets Zimbabwean Counterpart in Paris *[TASS]* 30
Seychelles' Rene on Election Congratulations *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jul]* 30

West Europe

Further Reported on Yazov's 28 Jul Speech *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Jul]* 30
UK's Thatcher, Biryukova Discuss Trade *[PRAVDA 28 Jul]* 31
Shevardnadze, Dumas Discuss Cambodia, Iran *[Paris Radio]* 31
Comparison of Shevardnadze-Dumas Meeting in Paris *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 31
Peace Committee Official Decries FRG Revanchism
[East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 Jul] 31
New Checkpoint for Border Trade With Turkey *[Ankara Radio]* 32
Lukyanov Receives New Cypriot Ambassador *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Soviet Eskimos Attend Greenland Assembly *[TASS]* 32

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Delivers Moncada Anniversary Speech *[PRAVDA 28 Jul]* 32
U.S. 'Embarrassment,' Drug 'Scourge' Viewed *[Mashkin on Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 33

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Reportage on 1 Aug Supreme Soviet Session 34
Gorbachev Gives Report *[Moscow Radio]* 34
Gorbachev's Remarks Cited *[Korablev on Moscow Radio]* 34
Pensions, Veteran Benefits Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 35

Further Reported on 31 Jul Supreme Soviet Session 36
Debate Held on Taxing Cooperatives *[TASS]* 36
Law on State Crimes Considered *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Further on Law on State Crimes *[TASS]* 37
Control Committee Position Filled *[TASS]* 37
Yeltsin's Speech Broadcast *[Moscow TV]* 38
Deputy Sobchak Speech Broadcast *[Moscow TV]* 39
Deputy Interviewed on Budget Deficit *[Moscow Radio]* 40
Session Dates 'May Be Reconsidered' *[Moscow International]* 40
Pavlov, Nikitin Address Supreme Soviet 27 Jul *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Jul]* 40
Further Reportage on Interregional Group 42
Yeltsin Interviewed *[Budapest TV]* 42
Group Recommendations Outlined *[AFP]* 42
Purpose of Group Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Deputies Cited on Interregional Group *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Konarev on Railway Situation, Strike Threats *[Moscow TV]* 44
Railroad Workers Issue Demands *[Baku Radio]* 45
Armenian Trains Ordered To Run *[Baku Radio]* 46
Situation in Abkhaziya 'Remains Tense' *[TASS]* 46
IZVESTIYA Notes Situation *[30 Jul]* 46
Meetings Held To Discuss Situation *[Moscow Radio]* 46
Weapons Seized; Trains Disrupted *[IZVESTIYA 28 Jul]* 47
Azerbaijani Conference Discusses Unemployment *[Moscow Radio]* 47
Tajiks, Kirghizians Clash Over Land, Water Rights *[Moscow TV]* 47
Vorkuta Coal Miners Threaten Renewed Strike *[Moscow Radio]* 48
Correction to Report on Strike in Kemerovo 48
Situation in Novyy Uzen 'Normal' 17 Jul *[TASS]* 49
Curfew Ends 24 Jul *[PRAVDA 26 Jul]* 49
Articles Highlight Ethnic Issues, Problems *[MOSCOW NEWS No 30]* 49
Further Reported on 2-Day Komsomol Plenum 52
Official Delivers Report *[TASS]* 52
Agenda Outlined *[TASS]* 52
Politburo's Zaykov Reports to Moscow Party Plenum *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Jun]* ... 52
Zaykov Addresses Moscow Party Meeting 26 Jul *[TASS]* 64
Zaykov Addresses Moscow Auditing Body 14 Jul *[Moscow Radio]* 64
Russian 27 Jul Supreme Soviet Session Reported 64
Session Summarized *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Jul]* 64
Vlasov Delivers Report *[TASS]* 65
Russian Republic Deputies Discuss Election Law *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 26 Jul]* 65
Experts Committee Disapproves Altay Power Station *[Moscow TV]* 66
USSR People's Deputy Opens Rally in Tallinn *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jul]* 66
Further Reported on Latvian Supreme Soviet 67
Economic Independence Discussed *[Riga International]* 67
People's Front Chairman Cited *[Riga International]* 67
Baltic Council Holds First Session 15 Jul *[Vilnius International]* 68
Nagorno-Karabakh Commission's Work Viewed 68
Commission Ends Work 27 Jul *[PRAVDA 28 Jul]* 68
Commission's Visit Described *[Moscow TV]* 69
Mid-July Nagorno-Karabakh Situation 'Explosive' *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 16 Jul]* 70
Armenian Central Committee Plenum Held 25 Jul 70
Changes in Communist Party Noted *[Yerevan Radio]* 70
Party Decides Agrarian Issues *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Armenian Supreme Soviet Election Committees Listed *[Yerevan Radio]* 71
Yerevan City Party Committee Plenum Held 20 Jun
[KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN 21 Jun] 71
Amasiyskiy Rayon Replaces First Secretary *[ARMENPRES]* 72
Georgian Party Sets Up Development Working Group *[ZARYA VOSTOKA 21 Jun]* 72
Belorussian Presidium Chairman Elected *[Moscow TV]* 72
Belorussian 28 Jul Supreme Soviet Session Viewed 72
Session Called 'Stormy' *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Chernobyl Aid Program Assessed *[Moscow TV]* 73

Belorussian Bodies Appeal for Chernobyl Aid *[TASS]* 73
12 Chernobyl-Affected Villages Resettled *[Moscow International]* 74
Ukraine State Committee Chief Appointed *[RADYANSKA UKRAINA 14 Jul]* 74
Oblast Party Chief Replaced in Kzyl-Orda *[PRAVDA 26 Jul]* 74
Uzbek Party Central Committee Plenum Held 29 Jul *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 74
Moldavia Abolishes Ministry of Light Industry *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 1 Jul]* 74
Moldavian Chief Discusses Interethnic Tension *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 15 Jul]* 74
Delay in Registering 'Memorial' Noted *[IZVESTIYA 27 Jul]* 75
AUCCTU Makes Appeal on Veterans' Pensions *[Moscow Radio]* 75
Shcherbitskiy Has Meeting With Veterans *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 76
KGB Apprehends Bomb-Threat Extortionist *[TASS]* 76
Moscow Militia Gives Briefing on Crime Situation *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Jul]* 76
Foreign Experience in Fighting Crime To Be Studied *[Moscow TV]* 77
Border Guards Discuss 'Political Leadership' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Jul]* 77
Council of Ministers Greets Cooperatives Congress *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 77
Biryukova Attends Cooperatives Congress *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 78
Efforts To Revitalize NKAO Rural Areas Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Jun]* 78
Radiation Meters To Be Made Available *[PRAVDA 27 Jun]* 79
Tatar Anti-Nuclear Protests Reported *[MOSCOW NEWS No 30]* 79
Nuclear Society Provides Industry Information *[Moscow International]* 81
100,000 Sign Nuclear Power Plant Protest Message *[Moscow International]* 81
Belousov Attends Fishermen's Day Meeting *[PRAVDA 8 Jul]* 81
German Movie on Prague Spring Victim Reviewed *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jul]* 81
Ethnic German Spokesman Praises USSR Congress *[TASS]* 82
Soviet German Commission Chairman Interviewed *[TASS]* 82
TV Official Discusses Television, Perestroyka *[TASS]* 83
GOVERNMENT HERALD Interviews Cited 83
Light Industry Chairman *[TASS]* 83
Forestry Chairman *[TASS]* 83
Atomic Safety Chairman *[TASS]* 83
Statistics Chief *[TASS]* 84
Yagodin on Teachers, Perestroyka *[TASS]* 84
Electronics Industry Official *[TASS]* 84
Interior Minister Bakatin *[TASS]* 84
Historian Views Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact *[Moscow TV]* 85
Floods Cover Vladivostok Maritime Area *[Moscow Radio]* 86
Russian-Language Latvian Newspaper Published *[Moscow Radio]* 86
Baptists Hold General Meeting in Tbilisi *[TASS]* 86
Mufti Mamayusupov on Religious Issues *[Moscow International]* 86
Muslim Cleric Lauds Upcoming Law on Religion *[TASS]* 87
Theorists Debate CPSU's Role in Society *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 4 Jul]* 88
Nature of Today's Communist Outlined *[PRAVDA 28 Jul]* 91
Copyright Agency Official on USSR Practices *[TASS]* 94
Commission for Royal Family Reburial Detailed *[Moscow International]* 94

Economic

Statistics on Food Sales, Prices First 5 Months *[TRUD 9 Jul]* 94

Agricultural

Proposed State Prices for Farm Goods Criticized *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 13 Jul]* 95
Agricultural Developments for 22-28 Jul Reported 101
Grain Harvest Progress Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 13 Jul]* 102
Stavropol Harvest Progress Report *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 19 Jul]* 102

Military

TU-160 Long-Range Bomber 'Inconvenient To Service' *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 103
New TU-334 Airliner Highlighted *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jul]* 104

More on Yazov's Remarks on SS-23 Missile Production
LD3107215189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Last week saw two high-level Soviet visits to Britain, yet another sign of how brisk and multifaceted the relations between our two countries have become. In "Vantage Point" Boris Belitskiy discusses these visits and what they accomplished.

[Belitskiy] The first to arrive in Britain was Aleksandra Biryukova, a Soviet deputy prime minister in charge of the government's social program. [passage omitted] She purchased some 30 million pounds worth of British medicine and medical equipment and close to 100 million pounds worth of consumer goods. This is seen here as an important stopgap measure to help satisfy consumer demand until the modernized and converted factories get into stride. [passage omitted]

The other high-ranking Soviet visitor to Britain last week was Army General Dmitriy Yazov, the defense minister. [passage omitted] As the general said, East and West now have hardly any military secrets from one another. However, this, of course, does not mean that no problems remain in their relations in the military field. In his lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Soviet defense minister criticized American plans to replace the Lance missile with a longer range missile, one that would have a range of up to 500 km. [passage omitted] If the United States went ahead with this plan, Gen Yazov pointed out, it would violate the spirit if not the letter of the Soviet-U.S. intermediate nuclear forces treaty under which all ground-launched nuclear missiles with a range of 500-5,500 km are to be scrapped.

The Soviet Union, Gen Yazov explained, would then be compelled to restart the production of the Oka missile, which likewise has a range of up to 500 km. This missile, known in the West as the SS-23, did not come under the INF treaty but the USSR nonetheless agreed to scrap it, too, as a gesture of good will. So let's hope that the process of nuclear disarmament set in motion by the INF treaty will not suffer such a reverse and that the process of nuclear disarmament will continue, making the world safer for all nations. Surely the participation of Western industry in converting Soviet defense plants to making nothing more dangerous than razor blades and pantihose makes so much more sense than restarting the production of an almost completely scrapped class of missile?

TASS Interviews Yazov on UK Visit
LD3107204289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1338 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (TASS)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Defense, has replied to a TASS correspondent's questions at the end of his visit to Great Britain. The full text of the interview follows below.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Timofeyevich, your visit to Great Britain ended recently. As is well known, and as the foreign mass information media have particularly emphasized, you were the first Soviet Defense Minister in the history of relations between the two countries to set foot on British soil. How do you assess the visit?

[Yazov] That I was the first of USSR defense ministers to visit Great Britain has given me an additional special responsibility. I and my comrades from the Soviet military delegation understood this well. We were also conscious of the fact that to a certain degree we are to open up a new page in Soviet-British military relations. But in the context of the modern international situation, our visit is one of many steps which have been promoted by the logic of the new political thinking. It is quite obvious that it has become possible thanks to the essential improvement in the political climate of Europe and the world as a whole.

Considering Soviet-British relations, the fact that their scope now includes military contacts is brought about by the summit meetings and talks between the leaders of the USSR and Great Britain. Perhaps the most remarkable thing in our visit was the dialogue. It turned out to be frank, mutually committed, and dynamic. We attentively listened to those we talked to, and they listened to us, it seemed, also very attentively. We made it clear: The USSR aspires to a decisive reduction in the level of military confrontation, to disarmament, and to the establishment of a universal and reliable security system and a nonnuclear, nonviolent world.

There were meetings and conversations between the Soviet military delegation and Prime Minister M. Thatcher, the foreign secretary, the secretary of state for defense, and other military leaders of Great Britain. Despite the evident commitment, benevolence, and openness, nonetheless, at times there was a feeling that the baggage of old images is still considerable. I hope our conversations will help the British Government to some extent to better understand the USSR's words and ideas.

We see the main result of our visit in the fact that, judging by the numerous meetings and conversations and by what the British mass media had to say, it has helped to move forward in this direction.

[Correspondent] You, as they say, discovered Britain for yourself. No doubt you have gained a lot of various impressions. It is understandable that it is impossible to decribe everything in such a short conversation. Nonetheless, we would like to hear about the most memorable and significant impressions you gained during the visit.

[Yazov] If we are to talk about "discovering" Great Britain, then I will. I began to acquaint myself with the country way back in my youth and W. Shakespeare, G. Byron, C. Dickens, G. Wells, and S. Maugham helped me in this.... I have also gained quite a lot from history including the history of the art of war. The years of the

Great Patriotic war when the Soviet Union and Great Britain were allies, when our armies fought against the common enemy—fascism—have left an indelible impression on me. For us men who fought on the frontline, this is of special value.

So, even prior to my arrival in the British Isles I had a quite clear and, I would say, broad idea about the people who live and work there, about [passage indistinct]

The program of the visit was very full. We learned how soldiers are trained and how British Army officers are trained. We visited the center for the training of airborne assault troops in Aldershot, had conversations with Gen C. Huxtable, commander-in-chief of Land Forces of Great Britain; Lt Col D. Campbell, commander of the training center; and other officers. At Sandhurst Military Academy Maj Gen P.L. Graham, its head, demonstrated to us the psychological side of cadet training. We also looked at combat equipment. Group Captain A. Bagnall, commander of an air base, showed us the capabilities of the Tornado and Harrier aircraft. On board the aircraft carrier Invincible, Captain M. Gretton, its commander, conducted a small demonstration exercise.

Of course, our impressions are not limited to the military subject matter, so to speak. Wherever the Soviet military delegation was, there were meetings and conversations with people. They were planned and spontaneous. The range of questions which were somehow brought up at these meetings was extraordinarily wide and diverse. The British are displaying an interest in perestroyka in our country, in the processes of democratization, glasnost, the activity of the First Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the transformations in the Soviet armed forces, the USSR's peace initiatives and steps in the international arena, and many other questions.

The conclusion suggests itself: More contact is needed. There should be contact at all levels actually; there was a separate conversation about this. We exchanged proposals with the leadership of the armed forces of Great Britain on the development of military contacts in the next few years. These proposals will be studied by the two sides after which it will be possible to determine a common and agreed-upon program to deepen our bilateral military relations.

[Correspondent] In connection with your visit to Great Britain, the attention of the Western public was drawn to the problems connected with the position of the Soviet Union in the field of disarmament. Your speech at the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London had a particularly great response, Dmitriy Timofeyevich. Could you give at least a summary of this speech?

[Yazov] A wide circle of problems was touched on during the meeting at the Royal Institute of International Relations. But in the end they were all focussed on disarmament. That is natural, for how have states tackled the task of ensuring their security over the centuries? According to a plan given once and for all time: Any action in the field of armament was immediately followed by counteraction. So a closed and vicious circle emerged. To continue to follow it into the nuclear age means to draw irrevocably nearer to disaster. To break this circle, it was necessary to change the direction of our movement and turn sharply away from the principle of overarming toward the principle of sufficiency for defense. In other words, it was necessary to embark on the path of disarmament. But, you must agree, merely embarking on this road is not much. We must move down it. It is clear that such movement makes sense if everyone takes part in it. For it to begin, it is important to break through the inertia and get the business in motion; it is important to take the first step. Realizing this, the Soviet union decided to implement important measures in the field of disarmament—including unilateral disarmament.

A unilateral cut of half a million is the materialization of our radically reconsidered military doctrine, which has now taken, as is well known, a thoroughly defensive character. The prevention of war lies at its core, expressing the highest goal of the Soviet state and its armed forces. In accordance with this, qualitative changes and quantitative cuts are taking place.

Such a deep perestroyka of the armed forces is closely bound up with our other peace initiatives.

We are deeply convinced that reliance on force, deterrence, and nuclear weapons is irrational in its very essence, since it objectively leads to catastrophe. Unfortunately, while the West realizes that nuclear war will lead to catastrophe, it has not yet renounced efforts to adapt nuclear weapons for the battlefield and for the theater of war on a global scale. While stating that there can be no victors in a nuclear war, they nevertheless do not want to outlaw nuclear weapons, or at least assume an obligation not to use it first, as we have undertaken.

We regard the mutual reduction of naval forces as one of the most important problems of disarmament. We see the extension of confidence-building measures to naval activities as an inseparable part of the all-European process. I suggested to the participants in the meeting at the Royal Institute that they put themselves in the position of a person who finds himself in the line of fire, no matter in which direction he turns. For many years, the Soviet Union has been in a similar situation, having been surrounded by hundreds of U.S. and NATO military bases, with the 500,000-strong group of armed forces, large air and naval forces, and nuclear weapons which are deployed at them. Would it not be logical to include this constant factor of destabilization of the international situation in the disarmament process?

The success of the negotiations in Geneva and Vienna is of key significance for the further development of the disarmament process. A good reserve of work has been created in Geneva. A search is now under way for a mutually acceptable solution to the question of the interconnection between strategic offensive weapons and anti-ballistic missile defense. Any deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons are possible only on the condition that the sides renounce the creation and deployment of wide-scale anti-ballistic missile defense systems. This is an indispensible condition for the maintenance of stability in the process of reducing the nuclear potential. We are expecting constructive approaches from our negotiating partners to resolve the questions connected with air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

We regard the negotiations in Vienna as entirely attainable. The initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev and the swift response of U.S. President G. Bush to them have given new political impetus to these negotiations. Our position is clear: any attempts to acquire military superiority—and that is precisely the thrust of the NATO proposals on the air forces and troop numbers of the USSR and United States sited on the territories of the alliances—as well as the aspiration to create new imbalances and asymmetries—are unacceptable and inadmissible. A search for compromises on a mutual basis is needed.

We attach principled importance to the opening of independent talks on tactical nuclear weapons, with the aim of cutting and completely eliminating them. Preserving this type of weapon, which has a huge destructive potential and the capability of being used for a first strike, will have a destablizing influence on the situation in Europe. They will be all the more strengthened due to NATO's planned modernization and the increase in tactical nuclear means.

As for other problems of disarmament, the constructive approaches of the USSR to their solution are well known. We are in favor of the complete elimination of chemical weapons in the nearest possible future, and the destruction forever of the bases for the creation of this type of weapon, and are ready at any time to end nuclear tests if the United States will do the same. We are against the creation of all types of space weapon whatsoever, and are for the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of other countries, the simultaneous dissolution of both alliances in Europe and, as a first step, and for the elimination of their military organizations.

[Correspondent] Without doubt, the problems of disarmament are difficult, complex, and huge. Solving them demands a lot of intense and responsible work. A joint, step-by-step search for solutions strengthens general security and peace. You must agree that it is worth working for.

[Yazov] Answering your question on the eve of my visit to Great Britain, I emphasized the need to increase the potential for trust. My visit has affirmed this idea yet again. I would only like to add that while increasing the potential for trust, it is important to do everything to implement it.

Zholkver Comments on Missile Destruction

LD2807131689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] We have already reported that the Soviet Union has completed the destruction of its OTR-22 missiles, as was envisaged by the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. To this end, medium-range land-based cruise missiles were eliminated last autumn. The significance of these measures is described by our political observer Aleksandr Zholkver.

[Zolkver] To put things briefly, one could just observe that the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty is being carried out, and even ahead of schedule. After all, the OTR-22's were to have been eliminated only at the end of November. I wish to point out that the U.S. side is also meeting its obligations. The United States has already completed the destruction of its ill-famed Pershing-1a's and has embarked on the elimination of its cruise missiles.

It seems to me, however, that there is more to it than that. In a matter that is as important as disarmament, affecting the vital interests of the security of states, it is particularly necessary to create precedents and to attempt to prove the very possibility of cutting down on weapons, especially on super-modern ones like nuclear weapons. After all, if it is actually possible to destroy Pershings and OTR-22's, why is it impossible to do the same with other missiles and with other kinds of weapons?

Such sentiments seem to me to be reflected by the current debates in the U.S. Congress on the draft U.S. military budget for the new fiscal year. Over the last few days, the Congressmen have made very substantial cuts in the allocations for a whole series of the latest military projects—to the Star Wars program and the production of the much-vaunted B-2 invisible bomber. Needless to say, this is prompted by very weighty economic and social considerations about which the U.S. Congressmen speak quite frankly themselves, from the chronic U.S. budget deficit and the growing national debt, to the highly acute problems of homelessness, drug addiction and AIDS.

However, these problems existed in the United States previously, but a new factor has now been added to them—the erosion of the enemy image and the dispelling of the myth of the Soviet threat. It really is hard to maintain that myth when the United States and the USSR exchange visits by their warships, military observers, and even the leaders of their general staffs; when a marshal of the Soviet Union addresses a commission of

the U.S. Congress; and, finally, but this is undoubtedly the most important thing, when several classes of the most modern weapons are destroyed under mutual supervision [kontrol].

We shall not, of course, slide into euphoria, especially when we see the zeal with which the Pentagon is trying to push its demand through Congress. Even so, every destroyed missile is a step not only toward reducing the burden of military expenditure, but also toward new measures in the vitally important process of disarmament.

Scientist Interviewed on Verification Experiment

18070704 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with V.S. Karpov, research group member and department manager of the Geochemistry and Analytical Chemistry Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent B. Yunanov: "Yes to Verification!"—date, place not specified]

[Text] **As has already been reported, the first joint experiment by Soviet and U.S. scientists on the development of verification of sea-based nuclear weapons was conducted in the Black Sea area. Our correspondent talked on this subject with V.S. Karpov, a member of the research group and manager of a department of the V.I. Vernadskiy Geochemistry and Analytical Chemistry Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.**

[Yunanov] Vadim Semenovich, how was the idea of such an experiment born?

[Karpov] At the Geneva negotiations on disarmament between the USSR and the United States, the U.S. side directly tied the examination of the question on a 50-percent reduction in nuclear strategic weapons to the problem of verification of nuclear weapons deployed on ships and submarines. In other words, until a means of reliable effective verification has been found, there is no sense in specifically considering the prospects for concluding an appropriate agreement. In response, we presented a proposal: To conduct a comprehensive experiment on a non-governmental level, with Soviet and U.S. scientists, for the purpose of demonstrating the principles, methods, and possible technical means for detecting and identifying nuclear warheads on ships. In principle, U.S. military specialists reacted positively, but again they put forth a condition: Not one Soviet verifier is to be permitted on a ship of the U.S. Navy. But can the problem be resolved without mutual trust? As a result, we took the initiative ourselves, and took a step to meet them halfway. In the course of a year, we met with U.S. colleagues continuously, worked up theoretical approaches to the resolution of the problem of verification, and came to the general conclusion: There exist today technological means and methods that in principle would allow arriving at positive results. All that remained, as the saying goes, was to check theory out with practice. As a first practical step, we proposed to the U.S. colleagues to conduct a joint experiment on the Black Sea. Yalta was selected as the place for basing all of the measuring equipment and the ships. For this experiment, the Ministry of Defense and the command authorities of the Soviet Navy assigned the missile cruiser "Slava," which had a cruise missile armed with a nuclear warhead. A system of contact and remote verification methods was used—although only in a mock-up version for the time being. The results of the experiment convinced the U.S. specialists that a nuclear charge, located on a standard launcher, can be recorded reliably and with confidence.

[Yunanov] Who specifically on the U.S. side took part in the experiment?

[Karpov] Specialists from the National Resources Defense Center. The delegation, which was headed by Doctor Thomas Cochran, also had three congressmen. All of them were permitted on board the "Slava," and they had the opportunity to see the course of the experiment for themselves. Moreover, they were also shown the silo with the cruise missile.

[Yunanov] Although the experiment was conducted on a nongovernmental basis, on our part, as we see, official, so to say, structures were active: the Ministry of Defense, the Navy...

[Karpov] True. Therefore, one of the congressmen at a news conference in Yalta assessed the openness and trust displayed by official Soviet departments highly. The Americans were astounded that they rather easily gained access to the most modern Soviet Naval equipment. They did not expect that our government would take such a step....

[Yunanov] And how soon did you get the "green light" from the Ministry of Defense to conduct the experiment?

[Karpov] Frankly, at first we ran into doubts, vacillation, and the question, will the Americans take the same kind of a step in response? This is understandable. A decisive role was played by the initiative and persistence of Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, who headed the work. You see, this experiment was extremely important for us. Its results will practically eliminate the main obstacle on the road to signing an agreement on the radical reduction of strategic nuclear armaments, in particular sea-based cruise missiles....

[Yunanov] Which, apparently, will also have an effect on the future course of corresponding negotiations in Geneva....

[Karpov] Undoubtedly. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Karpov was present at the experiment. In his assessment, the results of our joint work will have a favorable effect on the political discussions in Geneva. I

think that the Americans also agree with this. In any case, I hope that Dr Cochran will try to convince congress and the U.S. Government that such work has to be continued in the future.

We adopted a joint statement on the results of the experiment in which we expressed our common interest in continuing joint research in this direction. In the very near future we will have to work out an integral concept of international technical means of verification. Overall this will also make it possible to determine the approximate capability of sea-based nuclear weapons, and specific warhead yields. Mobile apparatuses can be deployed on a ship, motor vehicle, helicopter, or an aircraft.

[Yunanov] And what is the maximum distance for detecting a nuclear charge?

[Karpov] It all depends on where it is located. If it is on a launcher on the outer deck, then verification and localization are possible from a distance of 100 meters. If storage is conducted with great protection in special containers in the hold, the distance is decreased considerably.

[Yunanov] As far as I know, the question until now has been about surface ships. But what about submarines, which carry a big part of the naval nuclear arsenal?

[Karpov] This problem has not been resolved yet. Of course, if submarines are on the surface, the verification mechanism that we have developed is fully acceptable. An underwater configuration is another matter. Here we still have some work to do. But I think that reliable methods of underwater verification will be found through the joint efforts of scientists of the USSR and the United States.

[Yunanov] Is the methodology that has been obtained being applied in the nonmilitary sphere?

[Karpov] Of course, and this is a very basic point. We are looking at the problem in a broad ecological context. The ocean is seriously polluted. There is a global ecological danger. The developed system of verification can be and must be utilized to look into the ecological condition of the aquatoriums of the world's oceans, especially in the area of disposal of radioactive wastes of atomic electric power stations. Our institute has already been conducting such work in the Irish and Mediterranen seas, and in the northern latitudes adjacent to our territory. It essentially is an evaluation of the ecological load in one or another area and a determination of the most dangerous zones that require urgent freedom from the effects of military and economic activity that is associated with radioactive wastes. Thus, the verification mechanisms aproved in the course of the Black Sea experiment have universal significance.

Geneva Delegates Cited on Conference, Arms Issues
LD2707165989 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Geneva July 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhev:

Marked changes in the world, including better international relations and greater realism in dealing with complicated military and political problems, have inevitably influenced the Geneva conference on disarmament.

Practically all its participants are united in a desire to find mutually acceptable solutions to highly important issues on its agenda.

Speaking on behalf of socialist countries, Romanian delegation leader George Dolgu presented documents adopted by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee at a meeting in Bucharest earlier this month.

The meeting, he said, has reafirmed the Warsaw Treaty's commitment to the ideal of delivering humanity from the risk of outbreak of war by eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons and effecting radical cuts in conventional arms.

Dolgu stressed that the Warsaw Treaty countries are prepared for a continued quest jointly with other interested nations for accords towards these goals.

Polish representative Bogumil Sujka stressed the existing possibility in principle to work out the final draft of an international convention prohibiting chemical weapons.

He said that over the past ten years the conference has made substantial progress, laying the groundwork for the convention. It now remains only to come to terms on a general verification system.

Italian delegation head Aldo Puglese called for an early ban on chemical weapons, saying that primarily political will and readiness for compromise are needed to solve verification issues.

He added that Italy, as before, is for a comprehensive and verifiable nuclear weapons test ban.

Perfilyev Comments on Higgins Death, Iran Talks

LD0108093889 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev read a statement at a news briefing here today. The statement said:

"According to news agencies, U.S. Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins, taken hostage by a group in Lebanon, has been executed.

"We resolutely denounce this inhuman action.

"The fact that the aggravation of the situation in Lebanon, caused specifically by the abduction of Shi'ite leader Shaykh 'Ubayd by Israeli commandos, has led to an escalation of acts of violence and terror evokes profound concern.

"The Soviet Union regards such actions as gross violations of human rights and dangerous for the whole international atmosphere."

Answering reporters' questions, Perfilyev said that, according to available information, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will discuss during his talks in Tehran the aggravation of the situation in Lebanon, including the above-mentioned act of terror.

The spokesman said the Soviet-Iranian talks will cover, apart from bilateral matters, "other topical issues and, of course, will pay much attention to an Afghan settlement."

The usual Foreign Ministry news briefing was brought forward, reflecting the importance attached in the Soviet Union to the statement.

Perfilyev Conducts News Briefing 31 Jul

Hails World Cooperation on Cambodia

LD3107145589 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev today noted "the complete unity of all the UN Security Council's permanent members and other great powers to try and create such an atmosphere at the conference on Cambodia as would help further dialogue between Cambodian sides."

Perfilyev was commenting on the current international conference on Cambodia in Paris at a news briefing here.

He said that "yesterday's statements (in Paris) were for the most part constructive" but there were also some disappointing confrontational remarks.

"This is a peace conference and it should become a forum for peaceful statements," he added.

While noting the emergent prospect of solutions to the international aspects of a Cambodian settlement, Perfilyev also pointed out difficulties in the dialogue of the Cambodian sides.

"There was much more confrontation than a desire to compromise" in Sihanouk's address on Sunday and this is "disquieting," the Soviet spokesman continued.

He described Hun Sen's statement as calm, reasonable, offering many interesting ideas and making a good impression.

Perfilyev expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Cambodian sides' dialogue will be continued.

He said that judging by available information, the next round of talks between Hun Sen and Sihanouk with the participation of other Cambodian groups will take place on August 2.

The Soviet spokesman voiced content with the cooperation of the leading world powers in addressing the Cambodian problem.

Views Shevardnadze-Alatas Talks

LD3107153489 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—There is an overall agreement on Indonesian President Suharto's visit to the USSR in the nearest future. This remark was made at a news briefing here by Vadim Perfilyev, the Foreign Ministry's first deputy director for information. The briefing was devoted to the results of meetings held by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Paris, where an international conference on Cambodia is in session.

The agreement on Suharto's visit, Perfilyev said, was reached during Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting with his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas. The Soviet spokesman expressed the conviction that Suharto's visit would not only become a major event in Soviet-Indonesian relations but also have great significance for the Asia-Pacific region on the whole.

Eduard Shevardnadze met in Paris with India's Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao, Perfilyev said further. During the conversation the two men expressed profound satisfaction with the recent summit in Moscow between Soviet and Indian leaders, and discussed prospects for Soviet-Indian contacts. An agreement was reached, in particular, that India will use a Soviet communications satellite. Prospects for the Cambodian settlement and the Afghan problem were discussed. These issues were also raised in a conversation between Eduard Shevardnadze and Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

Speaking about Shevardnadze's working visit to Iran at the invitation of Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Perfilyev said that during his stay in Tehran the Soviet minister would meet the Iranian leadership.

Lauds UN Central America Resolution

LD3107152689 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—The Soviet Union met with satisfaction the resolution on Central America, which was recently unanimously endorsed by members of the UN Security Council, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today. The call to the regional presidents to continue fulfilling the Guatemalan and Salvadoran agreements has special significance on the eve of the new Central American summit meeting, he said.

Many countries, including the Soviet Union, hope that the meeting will help overcome difficulties in the implementation of these agreements. Perfilyev positively assessed Nicaragua's constructive approach to the fulfillment of its obligations stemming from these agreements with the aid of promoting national reconciliation, a ceasefire agreement with contras and dialogue with the internal opposition, including a run-up to the forthcoming election.

The Soviet spokesman described voting by the U.S. representative at the Security Council for the resolution on Central America as a positive step, fully in line with the Bush administration's support for the Guatamalan and Salvadoran agreements.

Discusses Japanese Grave Visits

LD3107153389 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 31 TASS—Guided by humanitarian considerations and mindful of Japanese people's customs and traditions, the Soviet Union considers most favourably Japanese nationals' requests for permission to visit the graves of their relatives on its territory and has markedly increased the list of locations open for such visits this year, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing here today.

In connection with Japan's requests for Japanese correspondents to be allowed to travel together with groups of relatives on a visa- free basis, he said that the 1986 agreement on visa-free travel applies exceptionally to Japanese people whose relatives were buried in the USSR.

There are no grounds for extending the agreement to cover other categories of the Japanese, the spokesman said.

"In principle, we do not object to trips to this country by Japanese journalists with such groups. The Soviet Union would be prepared to consider relevant requests on the understanding that such trips can be made in the normal way by holders of passports and Soviet entry visas," Perfilyev added.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-UN Chief Meeting

PM3107154789

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 30 July 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's meetings with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and Southeast Asian leaders. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Meetings on the Eve of the Conference," with the Moscow TASS English item published in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 18-19, reveals the following variations:

page 18, column two, paragraph one, only sentence, in PRAVDA reads: ...Perez de Cuellar today.

Shevardnadze conveyed Mikhail... (supplying alternate wording)

paragraph three, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...all members of this organization.

A wide range... (supplying alternate wording)

page 19, column one, paragraph one, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...as a step toward preparing for an international conference were discussed with... (adding words)

same sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...the Middle East.

The interlocutors emphasized:... (deleting paragraph)

USSR-EC Talks on Fishing End in Moscow

18250189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Jul 89 p 3

[Article: "Toward a Common Position"]

[Text] The second round of talks between the USSR and the European Community on fishing has been completed in Moscow. The dialogue, which began in Brussels in May, is an attempt to find a common position on this important area of cooperation which includes preservation and wise use of fish reserves and economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

"Today we are taking steps to compensate for lost time," Ramon de Miguel, director for international questions and markets of the General Directorate of the EC Commission, stated at a press conference. "Since the failures at the first such talks in 1977 the dialogue has made no headway; this is clearly not to the benefit of the two sides.

"What is being done today? We have already established the philosophy and principles of our relations and have set forth the existing problems. But the work has not been completed. The future still holds the elaboration of a broad agreement which will provide the Soviet Union and the European Community with an opportunity to collaoborate more effectively not only to their mutual interests, but also to the benefit of other, primarily the developing countries," R. de Miguel emphasized.

The USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry received in the capital almost the most imposing delegation representing the EC Community ever to visit Moscow. Experts and representatives of all 12 Economic Community countries attended the negotiations. A new round of business meetings will take place in Brussels in the future.

Ivanov Says Goals Achieved

LD2807180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first stage of negotiations on the conclusion of a trade and economic agreement between the Soviet Union and the EEC has ended in Brussels.

[Correspondent Mazheyka] The Soviet delegation at the negotiations was led by Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' State Foreign Economic Commission. The West European twelve were represented by Horst Krenzler, the EEC commission's general director for external relations. During their 2-day meeting at the Common Market headquarters the business partners discussed the conceptual side of the future agreement. Many common points of contact concerning interests in the development of mutualy beneficial links were revealed—namely, nuclear power, agriculture, transport, mining, fisheries, standards, ecology, and a number of other spheres. [video shows Ivanov being greeted by Horst Krenzler, and then shows the two sides at the negotiating table; video then shows interview with Ivanov]

[Unidentified correspondent] Ivan Dmitriyevich, what is your view of the results of the Brussels talks?

[Ivanov] The main outcome of the talks is that the sides have each presented their positions in respect of the content and the structure of an agreement. We discovered a fairly broad sphere of common interests. One can hope, then, that the Soviet Union and the European Community will be able to conclude a broad program on trade and economic cooperation, which covers almost the whole spectrum of the interests of our industry in the Common Market zone and the main areas of authority of the European Community. It will include trade, investment, industrial co-production, science and technology, possibly finance and currency, and cooperation in particular spheres. This opens a new additional channel for cooperation in the future.

[Correspondent] Are you saying that the goals you set yourself before the start of our trip have been achieved?

[Ivanov] Yes, indeed. These goals were achieved at the firt round of talks. We have agreed to continue the talks. This will be in October, when we will already be getting down to formulating the specific provisions of the agreement.

Theory of Western Victory in Cold War Rebutted

18070702 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by P. Vorobyev: "Is There a Winner in the 'Cold War'? The Opinion of an International Observer"]

[Text]**Journalists have been calling M.S. Gorbachev's visits to the FRG and France the funeral of the "cold war." British Prime Minister M. Thatcher had announced its demise somewhat earlier. The logical question is: Is it worth rushing to such conclusions? Is there certainty, are there guarantees of the irreversibility of a period of peace in international affairs?**

The discussions taking place today among diplomats, experts, and journalists turn mainly on these issues. The general opinion is being expressed that, yes, the period of "cold war," at least in its most acute and dangerous form, really is behind us. But then differences immediately arise as to whether that period has ended. I think the problem of guarantees is closely associated with this question.

Recently on the pages of the American and West European press and in statements by some officials we increasingly hear the thesis that the West has won the "cold war" and achieved its conclusion on the basis of recognition of its principles and values and the adoption by the other side of its positions on the main international problems, and indeed on problems on domestic social development. The advancement of this thesis and talk about the "failure of communism" sometimes assumes the form of psychological pressure and, of course, cannot be ignored.

Speaking candidly, were it not for the enormous personal popularity of the Soviet leader, which multiplies the effect of our foreign policy initiatives, it would not be easy for our opponents to apply this psychological pressure. I think we should engage more actively in polemic with them, the more so since we do have the counterarguments.

Let us start from the premise that polemists in the West, particularly on the extreme right, are not overly concerned about consistency in their positions. Today they are talking about "the end of communism." But even quite recently they were predicting something quite different; namely, the rapid decline of democracy. In June 1984 a theoretician of the French conservatives, Jean-Francois (Revel) wrote the following: "Ultimately, democracy will perhaps be only a random historical event, a brief interval that even now we see fading away."

We shall not reproduce here the entire line of reasoning from this author about why democracy is doomed to perish under the blows of "totalitarianism." Let us emphasize the main point: What stands behind this premise is an obvious lack of faith in the strength and opportunities of democratic social arrangements. Somewhat earlier similar thoughts were expressed by Z. Brzezinski. The channels of a democratic society, he wrote, are overloaded with the contradictory demands of different groups and cannot withstand that load. The conclusion is that a "curtailed" kind of democracy is preferable.

Today in the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries, a radical change is taking place toward democratic forms of political and economic life. It is essential to demonstrate that socialism is not at variance with democracy, and even more that socialism underpinned by democratic mechanisms is capable of defending its historical correctness.

Of course, this is not a simple task, but the choice has been decisively made in favor of the democratic road. And many of our opponents recognize this. And this means that conclusions stating that the historical dispute has already been decided in their favor should be regarded as overly hasty, to say the least.

In the West the victories in international affairs often referred to include the signing of the INF treaty on the "zero option" basis, our agreement to the principle of asymmetric reductions in armed forces, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the settlement of other regional conflicts. But can movement toward common sense be considered a victory for one side or the other? Of course not. Just as there was no victory only for the East when in the early seventies the treaty was signed between the USSR and the FRG fixing the inviolability of the European borders, nuclear parity was recognized by the SALT-I treaty, and the Helsinki Final Act was signed.

To the point, at one time our mass media gave it to be understood quite transparently that they regarded these agreements primarily as a victory for the socialist community. Nothing good came out of this one-sided interpretation. Such interpretation is capable only of interfering with objective analysis and prompting incorrect evaluations and errors. This, unfortunately, is what happened.

The fact that today this proclivity toward one-sided assessments is being seen in the West indicates that the psychological attitudes of the period of confrontation persist. And behind them there is the unstoppable inertia of the "cold war" and a lack of readiness to leave it behind. The following is the opinion of the well-known English writer John Le Carre on this score: "We had no plan of action for a case in which the 'cold war' ended. No one had thought seriously that one fine day peace would triumph." The question now, he continues, is this: Are we ready to trust each other and help each other or shall we be looking for advantages for ourselves? In the writer's opinion, the United States is still not ready for new relations and the "military-industrial complex will not soon abandon its old game."

A useful warning but still, in my opinion, too pessimistic. The opportunities for consolidating the positive changes in world affairs and of creating guarantees for the future do exist, and they are not bad. For the bankruptcy of "cold war" methods had become clear to many long before this present "retreat." And its main result is just as absurd—mountains of weapons and astronomical spending for military purposes. In this sense the "cold war" exhausted itself long ago. The present qualitative changes are the result primarily of two new factors—the increasing global problems for mankind and the new political thinking in our country.

The priority for the USSR in advancing the ideas of the new thinking is sometimes open to doubt. In fact, its theses, such as the impossibility of victory in a nuclear war, the need to insure one's own security without detriment to others, and the priority of common human values have also been previously expressed in progressive public circles in both West and East. It is sufficient to recall the report of the Palme commission. However, it was precisely our country that was the first to set these principles in the foundation of its state policy and supplement them with the concept of a non-nuclear and violence-free world and unconditional freedom of choice. This is, without exaggeration, a great service to history.

New thinking as a state policy is essentially the only possibility for coping with global problems whose seriousness is today forcing us to raise the question of a crisis in world civilization. In the words of FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, we have all become a "survival society." And this is impossible without a radical reduction in arms, without global improvement of the environment, without solutions to the problems of economic development in the "Third World."

The importance and scale of the latter in these problems has up to now been underestimated. By forcing us to look at all world development through the prism of relations between East and West, the "cold war" has aggravated the poor development of the South, whose hundreds of millions of inhabitants are suffering from poverty and hunger. Undoubtedly this situation cannot continue indefinitely. And this means that there is a real prospect for dangerous domestic upheavals and perhaps international conflicts. How can this problem be resolved under conditions of the billions of foreign debt in the developing countries, under conditions of the earth's limited natural resources? Neither the West nor the East nor international organizations can propose radical solutions. And alarm about this should be a common alarm.

The dismantling of military structures inherited from the past is a task of the utmost complexity. The grave experience of history forces us to approach problems of military security with the proper circumspection. But the

process of curtailing the arms race has already started and it is to be hoped that it will be continued. It will free up significant resources for solving economic and ecological problems both here in the country and on the international scale. But we should not cherish any illusions: These problems cannot be resolved merely by reducing military spending. What is needed is the application of intellectual efforts and the potential of the entire international community. We shall have to deal with conflicts of a new kind, and acute and unexpected situations will arise. States will need to show exceptionally responsible behavior, particularly the great powers and the regional leaders. In short, even after the "cold war" there will evidently be no quiet life.

Socialist International Congress Reviewed
18070708 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[A. Veber report: "To a New Level of Mutual Understanding]

[Text] Stockholm—Moscow—During the third decade of June the Swedish capital was receiving delegates and guests to the 18th Congress of the Socialist International. The choice of venue and time were not, of course, happenstance. Not long before, in April, the Socialist Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, which has led the country's government in all for more than half a century, had celebrated its centennial. The Swedish workers' movement has cause for pride: it played an important role in making one of the poorest countries in Europe reach a high level of well-being and social insurance for the worker, and the concept of the "Swedish model" has become widely known in the world.

This latest congress of the Socialist International took place just before two major dates in the history of social movements of the new times: the centennial of the foundation of the Second International and the bicentennial of the French Revolution. When on 14 July 1889 those involved in the international socialist congress gathered in Paris, they wanted in that way not only to mark the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, but also to emphasize that the strength of the mass workers' movement that had gathered there was in the line of succession of the humane ideals of the French Revolution.

The last century has been witness to great gains by the workers' movement and also serious defeats, brilliant manifestations of solidarity, and tragic divisions. But no matter how its various trends have diverged, they had the same roots and promised much in terms of the spiritual and ideological legacy. And this was graphically demonstrated at the Stockholm Congress, which gathered together delegates, guests and observers from a hundred or more parties and organizations representing the various trends in today's socialist thinking and practice.

The slogan for the congress was "Into the New Century." In these words we sense the call of the approaching epoch with its unprecedented opportunities and unprecedented threats. The Stockholm Congress had to establish a long-term program foundation for the activity of the Socialist International under the new conditions, and set forth the milestones for a political course into the 1990's and for the longer term, into the 21st century.

This also determined the agenda for the congress. Priority was given to problems that affect all of mankind: peace, disarmament, general security, human rights, international economic relations, and ecological safety. It should be said that discussion of these problems at the congress had been preceded by years of preparatory work, whose results were reflected in the reports of the Brandt Commission, the Palme Commission, the Brundtland Commission and the Kreisky Commission, and also other international studies conducted during the 1980's with the participation of eminent social democrats.

Several main documents were presented to the congress: a new Declaration of Principles for the Socialist International, a report entitled "Toward Ecological Safety," a platform for action in the humanitarian sphere, and finally a general political resolution. All these documents were approved. Without going into the details, let me note that the Stockholm Declaration, which replaces the 1951 Frankfurt Declaration, testifies to a significant renewal of the Socialist International's ideological baggage. Many of its provisions have something in common with what we call the new political thinking: this applies to the perception of the world and its new realities, and an understanding of the tasks for progressive forces stemming from the priority nature of common human interests and values.

In the speech of W. Brandt (who was again elected president of the Socialist International) major issues were presented on present-day world politics. His call for a search for ways to find an international consensus in resolving mankind's vitally important problems was consonant with what M.S. Gorbachev said in the United Nations in December of last year and in a number of other recent statements. Brandt criticized the present regional and international structures and advocated "fundamental changes" in this field, and he also favored the strengthening of international institutions and the creation of new and more effective institutional structures.

For the first time at a congress of the Socialist International, representatives of the CPSU were present as observers. This is the natural and logical result of the relationships that have been established between the party and the Socialist International in recent years. The foundations were laid, incidentally, by the discussion of disarmament questions, through the mediation of the Socialist International Consultative Council on Disarmament led by the eminent Finnish Social Democrat K.

Sorsa. These were mutually useful discussions. Thanks to those discussions, the positions of the CPSU and the Socialist International on disarmament issues today virtually coincide.

Another important consequence has been that by discussion of disarmament problems, the two sides have learned (after a long interval lasting, alas!, for decades) to talk to each other, to talk candidly, with respect and in a friendly manner. And step-by-step this has enabled them to develop a framework for dialogue that has now acquired new scope in connection with our perestroyka and the positive shifts in the world arena.

The discussions at the congress again confirmed that within social democratic circles they are following with rapt attention and interest the perestroyka processes taking place in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, these processes are evoking a general interest while expressions of sympathy and wishes for success are coming from different sociopolitical sources.

What is typical of the Socialist International reaction to our perestroyka? And why is it important from our standpoint?

The Socialist International Declaration of Principles begins with the words "the idea of socialism has seized people's imaginations throughout the world..." Again accentuating the topicality of socialism, the social democrats give due consideration to the ebbing of the neoconservative wave (under whose banner the 1980's lived in the West), and to the social problems laid bare that remain unresolved, and in some cases have deepened. This is resulting in increased dissatisfaction and enabling the social democrats to achieve successes in elections, which was demonstrated, in particular, at the recent elections to the European Parliament.

But it is also indisputable that the new confidence that has been acquired by leftist forces in the West is linked directly to the processes of democratic renewal in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Mindful of these processes, those attending the congress said that it is important to present to the world a policy that would represent an "alternative to capitulation to the forces of capitalism" (M. Rokar), and would set the values of democratic socialism as a counterweight to "unregulated, uncontrolled and irresponsible capitalism" (N. Kinnock).

There was also an answer to the questions raised. Supporting perestroyka, those attending the congress assessed it in the context of a socialist alternative. They advocated active influence on the processes of renewal in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries primarily along the line of reducing arms and thus freeing up resources for civilian purposes. And from this standpoint, the position of rightist circles was criticized.

It should, however, be clarified that the social democrats are suggesting their own understanding of democratic socialism as a global alternative to conservatism, pointing here to "conservative capitalism" and also to those manifestations of conservatism that are seen in the social structures of "communist countries." The thought is in some general sense understandable. The terminology used in this case ("conservative communism") is another matter. It is difficult to place all the blame here on our opponents; the blame here also lies with practice in the period of Stalinism and the dominance of the administrative-command system.

Nevertheless, how do we relate today to the concept of democratic socialism?

Previously it was regarded here by the zealots of "doctrinal purity" as something suspicious and alien. Now the ideological blinders have been removed and the concept of "democratic socialism" no longer causes an allergy. It has become part of our political lexicon: in the Resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies "On the Main Directions in the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR" it talks about renewed, humane, democratic socialism as a goal of perestroyka.

Does this mean that our ideas about socialism now coincide? Or are they, as before, diametrically opposed? Evidently they are neither one thing nor the other. As it states in the message of greeting from the CPSU Central Committee to the congress, "from our viewpoint democratic rights and freedoms constitute an integral part of socialist values. We want and we affirm that socialism and freedom are not antipodal; on the contrary, they belong each to the other and each enriches the other." Thinking anew about socialism from realistic positions, we arrive at a broader understanding of it: Let those issues of ownership, the market, pluralism or ideas about socialism as a world process not be confined to the socialist states.

Nor does the position of the social democrats seem to be rigid. The documents adopted by the Stockholm Congress development and to a large degree concretize their ideas about democratic socialism, which used to be of a somewhat abstract nature. Preserving the peace, environmental protection, and development of the "South" were placed side-by-side with the principles of freedom, justice and solidarity as being fundamental for democratic socialism. The importance of socioeconomic rights, individual and collective, were emphasized, particularly the right to work, and protection of the interests of labor were emphasized. While they adhere to a market economy, the social democrats say that the market does not resolve social problems. And they advocate public control, which, however, does not mean the same as state intervention.

The Socialist International Declaration of Principles takes an important step in the interpretation of political democracy, stressing the variety of its forms, including institutional forms, and not linking criteria for democracy with

mandatory recognition of the multiparty system. Democracy, the authors of the declaration suggest, is freedom of choice between various political alternatives, the opportunity to replace a government by peaceful means on the basis of the free will of the people, guarantees for the rights of the individual and the minority, and an independent judicial system based on the supremacy of the law, before which all citizens are equal.

This approach is not at variance with the principles forming the basis of the course toward democratization in Soviet society and legislatively underpinned in the Resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, particularly the part that talks about the preparation of a new USSR Constitution that would embody the principles of humane, democratic socialism. Of course, differences do remain in the understanding of socialism itself. This is natural. But it is important to take into account the fact that it is not a question of hard-and-fast, unchangeable differences set once and for all; for the enormous changes in the world, in both socialist and capitalist countries, must affect them. And there is one more thing. Differences should not be perceived as a defect but rather as an incentive for the mutually useful exchange of views and experience.

In our relations with the social democrats, a mutual interest in this kind of exchange has become one of its main components. We can expect that as perestroyka moves ahead, the interest of the social democrats in the Soviet experience will grow. And it is worth our while looking more attentively at the experience gained by the social democrats, particularly the ruling parties, in fields such as regulation of market relations, social policy, parliamentary and municipal activities, the cooperative movement, and so forth. It is not a question of finding some ready-made universal recipes. Rather we should want to learn from others and find what is useful for ourselves in the experience of the social democrats.

But let us not oversimplify: The inertia of opposition is still acting. And at the congress several speakers failed to avoid the allures of "political fundamentalism," which the Socialist International, it now states, rejects and condemns. But on the whole, it must be said that the congress has made a substantial contribution in asserting the culture of political dialogue and mutual relations between progressive forces. An important step has been taken toward a level of trust and mutual understanding at which, existing differences and contradictions notwithstanding, there can be real interaction between all socialist forces in the struggle for mankind's survival and for peace and social progress.

Problems, Prospects of Cultural Exchange Viewed

18001423 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by Gr. Gogoberidze and B. Yunanov: "Cultural Exchange: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] **What is happening now in the sphere of cultural exchanges between the USSR and foreign countries? How are the changes in the sociopolitical life of our country and the strides in international relations brought about by perestroyka and glasnost and the concept of the new thinking being reflected here? These and other problems were touched upon by the USSR deputy minister of culture, Yu.M. Khilchevskiy, when speaking at a briefing in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.**

"We are indeed now experiencing a turning point at which the explosion of interest in Soviet perestroyka and the life of our people is being directly reflected in the area of cultural exchanges," said Yu. Khilchevskiy. During the past 2 years there has been a considerable increase in the volume of cultural ties. Today one can speak about truly multifaceted cultural exchanges. The union republics and numerous social and cooperative organizations have been given access to the "cultural market." This process is accompanied by an intensive search for new democratic and flexible forms of work so as to satisfy the interests and demands of the foreign and domestic viewer. "The process of democratization and decentralization runs parallel to serious work for fulfilling and strictly adhering both to the commitments our country made in Vienna and to domestic legislation," noted the deputy minister. He was speaking, in particular, about unimpeded access to information and the archives, the free exportation of manuscripts and printed and published products, except those which are called national property.

"Today we are not suffering from a shortage of suggestions from our foreign partners," said Yu. Khilchevskiy. Of course, in addition to tours we must find new and more effective means and methods of cooperation. The large-scale festival in Zurich ended successfully, the festival in Amsterdam has come to an end, and not far in the future is the festival of Russian and Soviet art in Glasgow. All these festivals are the result of close and fruitful interaction. "At the same time it should be noted—and this bothers us—that conservatism, old approaches, and ossified forms of activity both on our side and from our foreign partners are hampering further development of cultural ties," said Yu. Khilchevskiy.

Establishing cultural ties is, one might say, a flexible, rapidly flowing process and all problems must be solved quickly. In Yu. Khilchevskiy's words, the Soviet side is prepared to solve them in 3-4 days. "But many of our partners, particularly from the West European countries, have rigid established time periods—3-4 weeks," explained the deputy minister. There are other problems as well. Today, for example, in a number of countries there is a fairly rigid policy for shipping national art treasures to be shown abroad. It is necessary to relax this policy if only because the Soviet side, offering the foreign viewer the most valuable of its collections, does not always receive the same treatment in return. Yu. Khilchevskiy noted that the time has come when we could probably respond to the words of M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the Sorbonne: We—representatives of the East and the West—know unforgivably little about one another's modern culture. Yes, Soviet culture and

Soviet artists are now in fashion in the West. But any fashion comes and goes. Therefore, it is important to create conditions that would provide for stable interest in cultural values, especially among youth, and thus aid the process of rapprochement of the East and West. In this respect, one of the promising forms of cooperation is joint arts festivals and performances by artistic collectives and soloists in the music and theater genres, and European and world exhibits with the participation of various countries.

A SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent asked a question: What position does culture occupy in the construction of a common European home? "In my view, it is a leading position," answered Yu. Khilchevskiy. If when it comes to certain economic and political aspects of a problem there is still discussion going on, in terms of questions of culture, representatives of the East and West can work out a common approach more quickly. "Obviously, people are correct when they assign to culture a pioneering role here," said the deputy minister. So there will be an all-around motivation to construct a common European home. Recently an international symposium was devoted to the subject "Western Europe—USSR. The Prospects for Glasnost and Cooperation." It was remarkable in that the discussion was not reduced to reproaches and recollections of the past... The discussion was about the future and how to build a Europe-wide, worldwide—call it what you will—home of culture.

To another question from SOVETSKAYA KULTURA—what difficulties and shortcomings were in evidence in the planning and coordination of international cultural ties—the speaker answered as follows: "There are many shortcomings and problems. I have not been working on these problems very long—only a half year. I must say frankly that today we are sadly lacking in elementary experience, knowledge of the foreign cultural market, and at the same time we have a complete lack or an exceptionally low, impoverished level—from the standpoint of cadre—of our own Soviet impresarios." How can these problems be solved?

"We have taken the path of closer contacts with creative unions and public organizations in order to deal jointly with questions of planning. We are thinking about training impresarios," said Yu. Khilchevskiy. To this end, we have created special courses for which foreign managers have been invited to be teachers.

United States & Canada

Akhromeyev Addresses Legislators, Meets Bush

PM3107152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "First Time at U.S. Congress. Soviet-U.S. Contacts Expanding"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Jul—...The moment was recorded by all the U.S. newspapers, which were united in calling it historic—congressmen gave a standing ovation to Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Indeed, his speech to the Armed Services Committee at Congress, within whose walls no Soviet military leader of such high rank had ever spoken, was itself historic. Both the legislators and the packed auditorium reacted animatedly to the marshal's statements, worthily assessing his firm arguments, good humor, and goodwill.

Apart from his report to the committee on Soviet military policy and strategy, its purely defensive nature, and the USSR's approach to arms control as the key element in safeguarding security, S.F. Akhromeyev's week-long stay in the United States was full of meetings at all levels of U.S. society. Today, near the end of the visit, there was a particularly important visit—with President G. Bush, Secretary of State J. Baker, Defense Secretary R. Cheney, and National Security Adviser B. Scowcroft at the White House. The planned 15-20-minute meeting actually lasted almost an hour, which attests to a mutual interest in exchanging opinions.

After the meeting, the White House published a statement in the president's name, which reported that G. Bush and S.F. Akhromeyev had discussed a wide range of issues, including the course of the arms control talks. "The president," the statement noted, "reaffirmed his desire to reach an agreement as quickly as possible. The president showed particular interest in hearing Marshal Akhromeyev's opinion on the relationship between the domestic reforms in the Soviet Union and Soviet policy in the security field. The president and Marshal Akhromeyev discussed the progress of perestroyka, the president took the opportunity to reaffirm his support for President Gorbachev's reform program."

In other words, both the tone and the content of the meeting were positive, which can also be said of the visit as a whole. The marshal himself confirmed this in a talk with this correspondent late this evening. "The report to the U.S. Congress on Soviet policy in the national security field in the nineties was an extraordinary event," S.F. Akhromeyev said. "Not only were the questions of major importance, but also they had always previously been secret. That is, our openness is now obvious. Moreover, the invitation to address Congress and put forward our views and opinions on the two sides' interests and concerns is clearly of significance. In this respect the Americans too have been open. I touched on what is for them the sore issue of cuts in naval forces and mentioned that the United States still surrounds the Soviet Union with bases. In general the exchange was frank and, in my opinion, it will produce results [imet posledstviya], although it is still too soon to make a final assessment. We have invited the U.S. military leader to the USSR to address our Defense Affairs Committee. When this happens, I think it will be possible to hope that all these exchanges will start to influence both sides' military budgets."

As the marshal said, in his talk with President Bush he noted the impression he had gotten as a result of his tour of the country that Americans on the whole approve of the arrangement of good relations between the USSR and the United States. Questions of a military nature and the problem of armed forces cuts in Europe were also examined. In his words, Bush approved of the sides' military contacts. Akhromeyev conveyed greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, and Bush, in turn, also asked for his good wishes to be conveyed to the Soviet leader.

Bush's Reaction to Reports of Higgins Death Noted

LD3107214489 Moscow TASS in English 2128 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Washington August 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

U.S. President George Bush, having interrupted a two-week tour of the country, intends to convene the National Security Council on Monday to discuss the situation in the Middle East and reports about the fate of American Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins.

According to reports reaching here from the Middle East, Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins who headed the United Nations Truce supervision organization (UNTSO) attached to the UNIFIL [UN Interim Forces in Lebanon] and who has been held hostage in that country since February 1988 by one of local groups, was hanged.

Speaking at the Chicago conference of the national governors' association Monday morning, President Bush described the report as "very disturbing" but said the White House had not been able "to confirm this horrible report."

The President told journalists upon returning to Washington that the administration still hopes that Higgins was not killed. The President said he was going to confer with his leading foreign policy advisers to discuss the situation and to receive a report on the latest development of events.

According to White House officials, the President on Monday had a telephone conversation with Higgins' wife whom he described as a very brave woman. Bush also phoned United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez

de Cuellar, asking him, according to American officials, to see to it that the body of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins be brought to the United States.

Local analysts point out that not only the latest tragic incident but also the U.S. overall policy in the Middle East, including Washington's measures, which might conceivably be taken in response, will be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the National Security Council.

Analysts are of the opinion that the incident brings about the first major crisis in the Middle East policy for the Bush administration, the crisis which will require decisions on a whole number of issues.

In particular, they point out that the execution of Higgins, as is maintained by his kidnappers, was in retaliation to the seizure of one of the leaders of the Lebanese Hizballah group by Israeli commandos.

A number of American political figures, Robert Dole, leader of the Republican Minority in the Senate, for example, have aleady voiced their discontent over Israel's action. According to the senator, Israel should sometimes show responsibility and realise that some of its actions may put in jeopardy the life of American citizens.

However, administration officials so far refrain from any criticism of Israel—the USA's strategic ally in the Middle East.

More on Bush's Reaction

LD0108091989 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Washington August 1 TASS—U.S. President George Bush cut short his two-day cross-country trip on Monday to meet top foreign policy advisers and discuss Middle East developments in the light of reports about the execution of a U.S. hostage in Lebanon.

Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins was serving with a United Nations peace-keeping force in Lebanon when he was taken hostage by an extremist group in February 1988.

The meeting, chaired by Bush, was attended by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Vice President Dan Quayle, and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff William Crowe.

The president "received a briefing on the status of our knowledge of the situation. This was primarily an informational meeting at which all aspects of the case involving Colonel Higgins and the other hostages were discussed," a terse White House statement said.

Addressing the National Governor's Association in Chicago earlier on Monday, Bush described the news of Higgins' execution as "very disturbing" and "horrible". In a statement upon his return to Washington, on behalf of the American people the president expressed "the outrage that we feel at the brutal murder of Colonel Higgins."

He added, however, that "at this juncture I don't have what I would call a final confirmation" of the U.S. officer's death.

White House officials said the president had called Higgins' wife and talked to her. Bush described the woman as a "wonderfully stoic individual."

Bush also called U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, requesting his help in returning Higgins' body to the United States.

After the meeting with top advisers, which the White House spokesman said was not an official National Security Council meeting, the president discussed the situation in the Middle East with congressional leaders.

Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman David Boren told reporters that the president was considering several options but declined to go into further detail.

Other legislators and administration officials were also as laconic.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-Baker Meeting in Paris

PM3107150589

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 31 July 1989 publishes in its Morning Edition on page 3 a TASS report datelined Paris, 30 July under the general heading "Meetings on the Eve of the Conference." Comparison of the IZVESTIYA item with the translation of the item entitled "Baker, Shevardnadze To Meet 19-20 Sep in Washington," published on page 21 of the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variation:

page 21, column two, paragraph five, only sentence should read: ...must be politically substantive and must establish specific prerequisites for... (supplying alternate wording).

China

Qian Qichen Meets Baker at Paris Conference

LD0108032189 Moscow TASS in English 2305 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris August 1 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had a one and a half hour talk with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen on Monday.

At the close of the talks Baker told journalists that there were many similarities in the American and Chinese positions on Cambodia.

This was the first meeting between official representatives of the two countries following the May events in China, the events after which the United States decided to freeze bilateral exchanges of high-level visits.

In this connection Baker specially made the point that the meeting did not belong to the category of such contacts, since the two figures attended the international conference on Cambodia and consequently pursue one and the same goal, seeking a global solution to the problem of Cambodia.

National People's Congress Committee Session Noted
OW2707004789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Mulatov commentary from the "Half an Hour with (Wang Xiao)" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, now we shall spend a few minutes to discuss the results of the session of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC].

Station observer Mulatov believes that the resolutions it has adopted are very important, because the issues examined and discussed by this high-level organ of power concern the student movement, the nature of political turmoil which followed in its wake, and the actions taken by the martial law enforcement troops to restore public order. Our station observer believes that the NPC Standing Committee resolutions, which have been published in the press in China, indicate the prospect of further development for China's society. Now, we shall discuss his viewpoints in detail.

Our station observer's commentary says: All the views any bystander may have of the recent incident in China will inevitably be biased. Though the incident has caught the attention of people all over the world, I believe that none, except the people of China, can give a full account of the true nature and background of the incident. Therefore, dear listener friends, I shall, first of all, offer two explanations. First, I shall talk about my personal views only. Second, while commenting on the China situation and the results of the NPC Standing Committee session, I shall take into consideration the prospect of development of society in China following the road of socialist renewal. I think such an attitude and approach would be understandable and acceptable from the viewpoint of Comrade (Wang Xiao), our host of this program.

[(Wang Xiao)]: I think it is acceptable, because efforts are being made by various sectors in our country, including the news media and radio and TV stations, to create an atmosphere of socialist pluralism. In addition, the Soviet people sincerely want China to achieve economic, political, and social successes on its way to carry out socialist renewal. This point does not need any more proof. On the other hand, the Chinese people wish the Soviet Union to score concrete achievements in reform.

Our station observer continues: The Soviet and Chinese people have more than once convinced us that some hot points, or even crises, have cropped up in social, economic, and other spheres in the course of socialist renewal in our countries, as well as in other countries. For instance, the Soviet Union has scored notable achievements in its political reform and democratization. Economic situations, however, are very grim. Racial relations have deteriorated in a number of areas. Many people are of the opinion that China's economic reform far outstrips all other fields of endeavor, and that its political reform lags far behind. This is also one of the reasons why the student movement today escalates to become a political one on an unprecedented scale. This is also the reason why the underground forces must take advantage of the opportunity to use it and stir up riots against socialism. As a result, the authorities use force to restore order in Beijing and other cities. Regrettably [as heard], we are also familiar with this issue. However, it will be another subject for discussion. At present, China is experiencing an important stage of understanding and drawing a lesson from the recent tragic incident by studying the documents of the Fourth Plenary Session of the CPC and the resolutions of the NPC Standing Committee. I believe these resolutions clarify the prospect of continued efforts to carry out the policies of reform, opening to the outside world, and socialist renewal. The NPC Standing Committee strikes a counterblow at those foreign powers who still attempt to take advantage of the recent incident to interfere with the Chinese people's internal affairs and points out the prospect of development for Chinese society under the conditions of stability and adherence to socialist legal systems. It has decided that the proposed PRC law on assembly, rally, and demonstration, after it is formulated, will be submitted to the general public for discussion. China will advance along the chosen road of socialist renewal under the leadership of the CPC. I think this is the major conclusion we can draw from the results of the session of the NPC Standing Committee.

Tian Jiyun Visits USSR Energy Corporation
OW2907054889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Station reporter (Feyaokestitov) report; from the "Half-an-Hour With Xiao Wang" program]

[Text] The plenary session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held in Moscow last week. A summary of the meeting will be signed.

During the past few days the Chinese delegation headed by Comrade Tian Jiyun visited other areas outside Moscow. Now we would like to give you a brief account of the visit the Chinese delegation paid to the United

Energy Production Corporation last weekend. The corporation is directly linked to the USSR's space program. Here is a report by this station's special correspondent, (Feyaokestitov), who has been covering the Chinese delegation's visit:

Following tradition, the distinguished guests first visited the USSR Aviation Museum after they arrived at the corporation. Almost everything on display here was the real thing, not a model. The visitors visited the office of [name indistinct], one of the founders of the Soviet astronautics industry. Then they heard a briefing on the USSR's astronautical development.

The exhibits in the museum stir visitors' emotions. There is, for example, the automatic equipment of the first spacecraft, Vostok-1. Gagarin, the world's first astronaut, returned to earth in this spacecraft on 12 April 1961. The members of the Chinese delegation posed for a group picture in front of the equipment.

After visiting the museum, the Chinese visitors proceeded straight to a workshop of the United Energy Production Corporation. There they were greeted by Comrade (Sizkin), minister of general machine building, and Comrade (Chiyanov), chief designer in charge of Soviet astronautical technology. Briefing the Chinese visitors, (Chiyanov) said: You are now visiting the corporation's monitorIng and testing station. Before they are transported to Baykonur for launching, all the spacecraft are tested here. The electrical system of the manned spacecraft Soyuz, the cargo spacecraft Progress, and the orbital stations "Salyut" and "Mir," as well as other space installations carrying space probing equipment were also on display..

Comrade (Chiyanov) continued: Our main projects in the past 19 years have all been linked to the space station program. The space station now operating in orbit is "Mir." Here we have the cargo spacecraft Progress which will deliver fuel, water, food, and scientific equipment with a total payload of 2.5 metric tons to the space station "Mir."

The Chinese visitors then had a conversation with astronaut (Sheliebolov). He said that he will go into space in August for the third time. Then the members of the Chinese delegation headed by Tian Jiyun visited the space navigation control center. Writing down his comment in the visitors' book, Comrade Tian Jiyun said he wished the Soviet astronautics industry further success. Tian Jiyun also pointed out that his visit has given impetus to the study of feasibility of Sino-Soviet astronautics cooperation.

Saying goodbye to the Chinese visitors, Minister (Sizkin) said: We hope that this will not be our last meeting, because China has embarked on a gigantic astronautical program. We hope we can join in the effort because this will help space exploration.

He added: You can count on us and regard us as your trustworthy partner.

Soviet, Chinese Attitudes on Regional Conflicts

OW3007201889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Recently, particularly since the USSR-PRC summit and the complete normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China, the actual probability of a useful cooperation in the world arena between the world's two largest socialist countries has significantly increased. In the following, our observer Mulatov has discussed this subject at length:

As everyone knows, one of the principles given priority by the Soviet Union and China in their foreign policy is to actively help eliminate regional conflicts. For this reason, the convocation in Paris of an international conference on the Cambodia issue being attended by all concerned parties, including the Soviet Union and China, will be an event of very great importance. However, its importance does not lie merely in the fact that it is finally bringing all concerned parties on the Cambodia issue together to seek a political solution. In my view, the approach to be taken following this conference will be of equal importance.

There exists a situation in which the Soviet Union and China for years have been supporting different parties in the Cambodian conflict. For this reason alone, in my opinion, the mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries will be of a unique and real value. Of course, we do not want to make any predictions now. After all, 30 July is only the first day of the conference. Furthermore, as everyone is aware, the Cambodia issue involves not only external problems for which China and the Soviet Union are joining others in seeking solutions, but also very complicated internal problems that will entirely depend on the degree of mutual understanding among all parties to the Cambodia issue. As Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said when interviewed by a TASS foreign affairs correspondent, many things will be decided by the good will of all parties to the Cambodia issue as well as their interpretation of their responsibility for the destiny of their fatherland. Comrade Shevardnadze pointed out that as long as they have this good will and understanding, any task, however difficult it may be, will be accomplished.

Now, as we turn to the external part of the Cambodia issue, particularly to the role the Soviet Union and China can play, I would like to draw your attention to the following situation. In spite of the fact that there are some differences between our two countries as far as concrete attitude is concerned, what is of principled importance is that our two countries are, in fact, acting as partners in mediating this regional conflict, which is one of the most difficult conflicts. In answering the question asked by the TASS foreign affairs correspondent, Comrade Shevardnadze said: We have held positive and constructive dialogues

with many countries in the world on the Cambodia issue. He noted that our contacts with the PRC are of great significance. In the course of these contacts, we have found, and then greatly expanded, the area of mutual understanding and coordination.

Dear friends, we want to note that the Soviet Union and China share many identical views in our attitudes toward arriving at constructive and political solutions to the regional problems in Asia and other continents. In our attitudes with regard to a just solution to the Korean, Middle Eastern, Central American, and other regional problems, we have shown clearly identical or similar points of view in our basis positions. Therefore, I think we all have every reason to believe that the area of real mutual understanding, coordination, and cooperation between the two largest socialist countries in the world will continue to expand.

In conclusion, let me include a sentimental passage here as a brief recollection of history. When the Geneva conference on Indochina was held in 1954, I was still a university student. China's foreign policy was a subject I studied. I am clearly aware of the tremendous contributions China made in bringing the 1954 Geneva conference to a successful conclusion, and how effectively the Soviet Union and China cooperated with each other.

Listeners, what you have just heard was comments on the attitudes adopted by the Soviet Union and China concerning the elimination of regional conflicts.

Song Jian-led PRC Delegation Returns Home

OW3107023789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The Chinese government delegation, headed by Song Jian, China's state councillor and minister of China's State Scientific and Technological Commission, left the Soviet Union for home. This delegation took part in the opening ceremonies of China's Scientific and Technological Day activities and scientific and technological exhibitions held in Moscow. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, received the delegation during their visit.

In a friendly meeting, both sides frankly exchanged views on the issue of economic cooperation and the present situation of, and prospects for, scientific and technological cooperation.

The Chinese government delegation also visited Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok.

Before his departure for home, Song Jian was interviewed by our station reporter. He said: The Chinese Scientific and Technological Day activities held in the Soviet Union will be helpful in laying a new foundation for scientific and technological ties between the two countries on a still higher level; and it will also help strengthen the friendship and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese people.

Yazov Greets PRC Defense Minister

PM0108093589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister Yazov "To PRC Defense Minister Comrade Colonel General Qin Jiwei"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and my own behalf I send you and all Chinese servicemen sincere congratulations on the 62d anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.
Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Chinese Premier Cabled on Sichuan Province Flood

OW3007081389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet Council of Ministers cabled Chinese Premier Li Peng, expressing heartfelt sympathy to the Chinese Government and people for suffering serious flooding in Sichuan Province. Floods in Sichuan caused much loss of life and heavy destruction.

PRC Official on Independent Trade Unions

18070332 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Chen Ji, staff official of the All-Chinese Trade Union Federation, by A. Sukhotin (Beijing): "The 'Beijing Spring' and the Trade Unions"]

[Text] **For 3 months the situation in China has drawn unwavering attention from throughout the world. After the "Beijing spring" and the events in June the situation in the capital and other cities has stabilized, although it remains fairly difficult.**

How do the Chinese trade unions assess what is taking place in the country? Our Beijing correspondent asked a staff official of the All-Chinese Trade Union Federation, Chen Ji, to discuss this. This is the first interview a Soviet press representative has been able to obtain since the imposition of martial law in the capital.

[Sukhotin] Our newspaper's readers—mainly workers—are especially interested in what is happening in the home of their eastern neighbor and how their class comrades in the PRC feel about this.

[Chen Ji] During the 2 months of events—from the student uprising to the suppression of the counterrevolutionary revolt—the PRC working class has played the role of the main political force in stabilizing the situation, imposing public order, and providing for the operation of the economy, thus proving with deeds that it can be counted on at the most difficult moment.

This is explained, in particular, by the fact that during the course of the reforms and the open-door policy, the standard of living of the Chinese workers has improved considerably. Manifestations of inflation, corruption, and ideological and moral disintegration have caused strong dissatisfaction in our country. Therefore the slogans concerning fighting negative phenomena put forth at the beginning of the student uprisings found sympathy among the working masses. At that time the workers assumed that the street demonstrations could contribute to solving the pressing social, economic, and other problems. And although they did not participate in them themselves, they did express their sympathy.

At the same time, having the bitter experience of the "cultural revolution" behind them, they did not want disturbances, they were not interested in continuing the demonstrations, and they were afraid of how this might affect the policy of reforms and the work of the economy. This is why from 16 through 18 May some of the workers went out into the streets. They thought that this way they could accelerate the dialog between the government and the students and the latter would stop their public appearances and hunger strikes.

After martial law was declared on 29 May the students began to call for the workers to prevent the entry of the troops and to begin strikes. They took over enterprises, built barricades, and conducted agitation in the plants. But the workers did not support them. Not a single enterprise in the capital was shut down. Since transportation was paralyzed, many had to go to work on foot, spending a couple of hours each way, and they entered the territories of the factories and plants by side entries—the main entrances were blocked by the demonstrators. They stayed there for two or three shifts in a row.

The workers said that halting production would leave the people without water, electric power, food, and other necessities and would greatly complicate the life of the workers. This is why right up until the end of May the country's economy did not sustain any serious damage. It suffered considerably more during the first 10 days of June. And now the most widespread slogan at our enterprises is: "Weigh the damage caused by the chaos and revolt!"

[Sukhotin] But if the students' slogans were positive in nature and the workers were interested in halting the demonstrations as quickly as possible, who played the role of organizer and executor of the actions during which military equipment was burned, thousands of military servicemen were injured, and hundreds were killed or missing?

[Chen Ji] In the front lines—where the murders, massacres, theft, and fires took place—were mainly unclassified elements, disenfranchised and unemployed people. There were not many of them but they could seem impressive because there were many onlookers all around: The Chinese have a habit of gawking.

The skeleton of worker cadre did not participate in the disturbances. The ones involved in them were certain young workers of enterprises where the working conditions are poor and the profitability low; a politically illiterate part of the youth who are inclined to anarchy and want to resolve all problems in a single day.

[Sukhotin] According to reports from the local press, the VKFP [All-Chinese Trade Union Federation] reacted negatively to the appearance in China of "independent trade unions," called for the government to disband them immediately, and demanded acknowledgment of guilt by the leaders of these trade unions. Could you tell us about the activity of these organizations in greater detail?

[Chen Ji] The so-called independent trade unions appeared during the course of the recent uprisings. Their platform was to transform the trade union movement into a political force opposed to socialism. Materials we have in our custody show that they were created not on the basis of enterprises and not with the participation of trade union members but consisted mainly of individual workers, unemployed persons, and former criminals. Their slogans called for strikes at the plants, boycotts in the stores, chaos in the cities, and overthrow of the government.

They operated under the leadership of so-called independent student associations and were constantly being regrouped, sometimes several times a day. In some places these organizations even had their own storm detachments of "death row prisoners." Their tasks included attacking party, state, and government institutions and their workers as well as military servicemen.

Naturally, the workers did not support such actions and as a result many of these organizations fell apart of their own accord. And they were not large in number. About 100 in Beijing, approximately the same number in Shanghai (and there, as we know, there are 5 million workers, and even fewer in other cities).

I can say that we were not afraid of these trade unions because they did not have the support of the masses. But the very statement of the problem—the separation of trade unions from the party—requires serious and careful attention. We think that PRC trade unions in the sphere of politics cannot be deprived of party leadership. We do not thing that they should have a political platform different from that of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party]. But they must become independent and have the confidence of the workers and employees as a force on the organizational plane.

[Sukhotin] What did the VKFP and the local trade unions do during the recent events?

[Chen Ji] One can say that the trade union organizations, both central and local, underwent serious tests at that time and in general they passed them successfully. The greatest difficulty for us was that, while adhering to the

unity of the views of the CCP Central Committee and the PRC State Council, at the same time we had to reflect the interests of the working masses.

Therefore, while not supporting the uprisings, we nonetheless asserted that the student slogans directed against corruption and demoralization were patriotic. PRC trade unions also supported the workers to hold a dialogue and halt the hunger strike. We even declared our readiness to represent the interests of the workers in a dialog with the government. But we were decisively against strikes and shutting down production.

We presented this position to the workers at meetings, called upon them to preserve their restraint and composure, and explained the principles of the CCP Central Committee. While appealing for them not to halt production and conducting propaganda work, we relied on the skeleton cadre of workers. Trade union workers of all levels were sent to the enterprises to resolve the crucial problems and contradictions.

The trade union organizations that had previously been successful in defending the interests of the workers found support from them now. In Shanghai, Wu-han, and Chungking workers acted under the leadership of the trade unions, and when the latter said "no" to strikes, they were not started.

[Sukhotin] Two months ago comrades from the VKFP told me that the Chinese working class needed "Mister D"—democracy. Has the situation in this are changed any recently?

[Chen Ji] It has remained the same. And we shall continue to develop socialist democracy. Including the democratic rights of workers to participate in the management of the state and enterprises.

Moreover, what has happened has helped to make us more deeply aware of what democracy is, to understand that it cannot exist apart from the law, and that its improvement is a lengthy process.

Our workers now have a clear idea that, in the first place, we do not need democracy according to the Western model, and, second, that democracy needs the protection of the law.

USSR Trade Union Visit to PRC 'Successful'

18070333 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 3

Report by A. Sukhotin: "With Belief in Success"

[Text] Beijing, 11 July—Some people think that now is not the best time for a visit to China. In the first place, "futian" is coming—that summer steam room of suffocating humid heat which foreigners can survive only with the help of air conditioners. In the second place, soldiers holding AK-47 automatic rifles and wearing helmets, sitting dead still under multicolored beach umbrellas on the streets of Beijing, are automatically reminded of recent events...

But nonetheless six members of the delegation of the trade union of Soviet metallurgists headed by its chairman, I.I. Kostyukov—having just visited the capital of the PRC, Beijing, the largest seaport in the northeastern part of the country, Dalian, and the most populous Chinese city with a proletariat of 5 million, Shanghai—unanimously declare that their trip, the first in the branch in 30 years, was an immense success.

When visiting the enterprises, whether it be the Dalian locomotive plant or the Baoshan metallurgical combine, sea resort sanatoriums or therapeutic institutions, or becoming familiar with the work and play of PRC workers, they engaged in a number of conversations with their Chinese colleagues.

It would be premature to discuss a future program of cooperation between the two largest branch trade unions of the USSR and the PRC, which number about 4 million and 8 million members, respectively. The more so since during the course of the visit it was augmented with new details and suggestions.

Of the most interesting meetings the delegation members single out conversations with the Chinese trade union leader Ni Zhifu, a member of the executive committee and secretary of the VKSP [All-Chinese Trade Union Council] Wang Houdie, and, of course, the chairman of the trade union of PRC metallurgists, Zhang Cunen.

And so the visit has ended. The delegates have returned home.

USSR-PRC Talks On Fishing Industry Reported

18070337 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Jul 89 p 3

["Ties Are Being Strengthened"—TASS headline]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Jul (TASS)—Soviet-Chinese talks began here today on further development and broadening of cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of fishing and the fishing industry. During the course of negotiations a series of documents was signed, including "On the fundamental directions of cooperation in the sphere of fishing between the USSR and the PRC from 1989-1995." The documents were signed by the USSR Minister of the Fish Industry N.I. Kotlyar and the PRC Minister of Agriculture He Khang.

Northeast Asia

Japanese, USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers To Meet

OW3007122989 Tokyo KYODO in English 1213 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, July 30 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union agreed here Sunday to hold a deputy foreign ministers meeting in Moscow on September 4 in preparation for ministerial talks in New York later that month.

The agreement was reached in a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Hiroshi Mitsuzuka.

They are expected to represent their countries at a U.N. General Assembly session in New York in late September.

The foreign ministers are here to attend an international conference on the Kampuchean problem.

It was Mitsuzuka's first meeting with Shevardnadze since he became foreign minister in June.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Shevardnadze at Cambodia Talks

Discusses Cambodia, Baker Talks

LD3107215889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Recorded interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs, by Oleg Maksimenko; first paragraph is introduction by unidentified announcer; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The foreign ministers of 18 countries and the representatives of 2 international organizations are attending the plenary session of the international conference on Cambodia which is discussing possible ways to reach a settlement to the Cambodian conflict.

[Oleg Maksimenko] The speeches by heads of delegations continued on the 2d day of the conference. The majority of speakers spoke in favor of establishing strict international control over the process to achieve peace in Cambodia; but there were more than enough sharp corners, as they say. First of all, fears were expressed that after the final withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, which is planned for the end of this September, civil war could break out in Cambodia. The conference participants were also unanimous in agreeing that the genocide of the Cambodians must not be allowed to happen again, as occurred when the Khmer Rouge were governing the country.

Work was not only conducted in the session auditoriums. The participation in the initial stage of the conference of the representatives of 18 states on the foreign minister level, as well as of 2 international organizations, turned Paris into the scene of important international meetings. They also took place in the official residence of the Soviet minister on Rue de Grenelle. Eduard Amvrosievich Shevardnadze received Ali Alatas, cochairman of the conference and foreign minister of Indonesia. During the conversation, not only the Cambodian problem was discussed. An accord was reached in principle on the visit to the USSR by Indonesian President Suharto in the very near future. Then Comrade Shevardnadze met with Indian Foreign Minister Narashimha Rau. The sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the recent discussions in Moscow between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi. The conversation revealed a high level of mutual understanding on the issue of a peaceful settlement in Cambodia. On Rue de Grenelle, Comrade Shevardnadze also met with Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Natan Shamuyarira. This country is taking part in the conference as the president of the Nonaligned Movement. A detailed exchange of opinions took place on the Paris forum. [video shows scenes at the conference, scenes outside on the street, and Shevardnadze in meetings with three above-mentioned dignitaries] After these meetings ended, Comrade Shevardnadze gave Soviet television an interview.

[Video shows Shevardnadze outside a building being interviewed] [begin recording] Today you are leaving Paris. What are your impressions of the prospects and possibilities for a peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem?

[Shevardnadze] You know, it is still difficult to say. The conference has started. There were speeches yesterday. In general, the speeches were constructive—the contents were constructive—but there were some individual confrontational speeches by representatives of some countries, which undoubtedly evokes disappointment. I even said in my speech that the conference should become a peaceful one, and not a rostrum for mutual accusations and for mutual insults, in spite of the fact that the situation is a difficult one overall and, in a certain sense, a dramatic one. I have in mind surrounding Cambodia and within that country. But what stands out? The following prospects stand out. Can the foreign policy aspects, the international aspects of the settlement, be settled? Perhaps regarding all these main problems, the international aspects, we will succeed in finding a solution at the conference.

As far as the domestic aspects are concerned, that is more complicated. As far as I know, yesterday we had the relevant contacts; the dialogue among the Khmer groups is going ahead with great difficulty. In Prince Sihanouk's speech yesterday, I noted more confrontation than, so to speak, quests for compromises and compromise solutions. That puts you on guard. I do not exclude the fact that these are perhaps just tactics; perhaps at some point changes will occur in the stands taken by the sides.

The speech by Comrade Hun Sen was, I would say, a reasonable and calm one; it contained interesting ideas and made a good impression. Well, it is a good thing that

the dialogue will be resumed. At any rate, we were informed yesterday that the next round of talks among Hun Sen, Sihanouk, and the other groups will be taking place on the 2d. Now that is not a bad thing.

[Maksimenko] In this connection, cooperation among the leading world powers is acquiring a special role in moving toward the solution of the Cambodian problem, as well as the fact that the five permanent members of the Security Council are present here in Paris.

[Shevardnadze] In this respect, I want to express certain satisfaction. I personally had interesting, I would say, fundamental discussions on all aspects of the Cambodian question with Secretary of State Baker and with French Foreign Minister Dumas. Yesterday we had contacts with the British foreign secretary. There was a detailed discussion with the Chinese foreign minister and other meetings. I have to say that with regard to many basic questions, in principle the positions of the great powers coincide. That is very important, especially as far as the present settlement is concerned.

[Maksimenko] Will this urge the Cambodian sides to a more constructive dialogue?

[Shevardnadze] We agreed on that. And here there is complete agreement among all the permanent members of the Security Council and other leading states to try to create an atmosphere at the conference to promote the development of an effective dialogue among the Khmer groups. [end recording]

[Maksimenko] In the afternoon, Comrade Shevardnadze completed his participation in the initial stage of the international conference on Cambodia. Comrade Shevardnadze left Paris for Tehran. [video shows Shevardnadze and his wife climbing the steps of the aircraft]

'Disappointed' With Sihanouk Speech

LD3107162689 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 31 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, left here for Tehran today. While in Paris, he attended the initial stage of an international conference on Cambodia.

Before departure from Paris Shevardnadze told journalists at Orly Airport his first impressions of the conference's work.

The conference has begun, he said, and I think that the beginning was not bad in principle. It is too early to speak of any results of the conference. Taking into consideration the speeches already made and meetings with my foreign counterparts, I believe that the external aspects of a settlement of the issue are solvable at this conference.

As far as the internal aspects of the issue are concerned, that would be a more complex thing to resolve. To a certain extent I personally was disappointed with Prince Sihanouk's speech. There were very few constructive elements and rational proposals in it.

Such a conference, for certain, could not be held several years ago, the minister went on to say. New conditions and new relationships have taken shape in the world, and the Cold War, as Mikhail Gorbachev said, has ended.

This new atmosphere creates conditions for a settlement and undoing of the most complex conflict. New political thinking yields fruit. I am leaving Paris with a good feeling.

In conclusion Shevardnadze pointed out a great importance of the initiative of President Francois Mitterrand and French leadership that made it possible to convene this conference and to ensure a good level of organising it.

Meets Indonesian Foreign Minister

LD3107123789 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 31 TASS—Soviet, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today continued his series of meetings with participants in an international conference on Cambodia, which is underway here.

During such a meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, satisfaction was expressed with the very representative nature of the conference. Shevardnadze praised Indonesia's role as its co-chairman and noted the significance two informal meetings in Jakarta had had for preparing the forum.

The ministers expressed hope that, despite known difficulties, the Paris conference will make progress to a Cambodian settlement. They also examined Soviet-Indonesian relations, reaching agreement in principle on an early official visit by Indonesian President Suharto to the USSR.

The forthcoming summit will be a landmark event not only for the Soviet Union and Indonesia but also for the entire Asian-Pacific region.

The two ministers discussed some specific aspects of its preparation.

Leaves Paris for Tehran

LD3107133189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, 31 Jul (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, left here for Tehran today. In Paris he participated in the initial stage of the work of the

International Conference on Kampuchea. Eduard Shevardnadze was seen off at Orly Airport by Yakov Ryabov, USSR ambassador to France, and by other officials.

Comparison of Shevardnadze Cambodia Speech
PM3107151589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 July 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 5 a report on Shevardnadze's 30 July speech at the Paris conference on Cambodia filed by PRAVDA and TASS correspondents. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Toward Reconciliation: International Conference on Cambodia Opened In Paris," with the translation of the Moscow TASS version subtitled "Addresses Conference," published in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, beginning on page 25, reveals the following variations:

page 27, column one, paragraph five, sentence two should read: ...what is required are ways uniquely suitable... (correcting typo);

same page, column two, paragraph nine, only sentence should read: ...sad lesson in failure is instructive to... (retranslating).

Comparison of Indochinese-Shevardnadze Meetings
PM3107154789

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 30 July 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's meetings with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and Southeast Asian leaders. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Meetings on the Eve of the Conference," with the Moscow TASS English version and the translation of the item subheaded "Meets Indochinese Foreign Ministers," published in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, beginning on page 28, reveals the following variations:

page 28, column two, first paragraph, first sentence should read: ...People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, and foreign minister... (adding "chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers");

same page, same column, last sentence, should read: ...of inter-Khmer dialogue.

The general political...(deleting paragraph, picking up paragraph six).

Qian Qichen Speech on Cambodia 'Peculiar'
LD3107165389 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 31 TASS—By TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov and Yuriy Lopatin:

The international conference on Cambodia resumed its plenary meetings today at the international conference centre in Avenue Kleber in Paris. Speeches of heads of delegations were continued.

Our forum must contribute to a global political settlement in Cambodia, Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnam's foreign minister, said. By now its participants reached a coincidence of views on the principal provisions of a global settlement and differences exist concerning ways to implement the agreements. The differences concern above all the specific ways of achieving these goals. He stressed that with the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia it was necessary to end any external interference in that country's affairs and any military assistance to the Khmer sides, to ensure a ceasefire and to prevent a civil war. Cambodia must become independent, peaceful, neutral and nonaligned, exercise its right to self-determination through free and democratic elections in the spirit of national reconciliation. One cannot allow a return to the Pol Pot genocide regime, the minister went on to say. But some people assume that a civil war that regime is capable of unleashing may be prevented through allowing the Pol Pot men a limited role in Cambodia. Their nature has not changed, their regime remains unacceptable to the Cambodians and to the world community. Nguyen Co Thach called for keeping them from power for good as this was done with the fascists in Germany and Italy and with the militarists in Japan after the Second World War. One cannot appease criminals and the lessons of the pre-war Munich agreements must be learnt, he stressed.

China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, approving the idea of a global and just political settlement in Cambodia, of preventing a civil war and setting up an effective international mechanism of control, which in his opinion must be directed by the United Nations, and welcoming Vietnam's decision to pull its troops out of Cambodia, expressed a peculiar view on the role of the "Khmer Rouge". He considers that in the transitional period it is necessary to set up in Cambodia a provisional government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk which would include all the four Khmer sides participating in the conflict and consequently the "Khmer Rouge".

The attention here was drawn to a statement by Japanese Foreign Minister Hiroshi Mitsuzuka. He has put forward the initiative of setting up an international commission on the rehabilitation of Cambodia and a working commission on the return of the refugees. In his words, Japan is prepared to make a financial contribution to setting up an international control mechanism and to place men and non-military equipment at its disposal.

Paris General Debate on Cambodia Ends
LD0108024989 Moscow TASS in English 2305 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris August 1 TASS—By TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov and Yuriy Lopatin:

A general debate has come to a close at the international conference on Cambodia. Plenary sessions are continued behind closed doors.

The just concluded phase of work was notable for a striving by a majority of participants for accord, for a settlement of the Cambodian problem.

All issues, even most complex ones, can be solved if peoples really strive for that, said Thailand Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila.

His opinion is that an overall settlement of the conflict should include a withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia under international control, the formation of a quadri-partite government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk (and, consequently, with the participation of the 'Khmer Rouge'), self-determination of the Cambodian people through the holding of free elections, and the formation of a sovereign, independent and neutral Cambodia.

Laotian Foreign Minister Phoun Sipaseut recalled the statement by the State of Cambodia on its permanent neutrality.

He said the international community should respect independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, should not interfere in internal affairs, or participate in hostile military alliances, should resolve incidents and conflicts by peaceful methods, and promote effective cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit.

Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs, having recalled India's wide experience in participation in peace keeping forces, endorsed the idea of establishing an international control mechanism to monitor compliance with decisions aimed at peacefully settling the problem of Cambodia.

A speech by Khieu Samphan, representative of the Khmer Rouge, struck a discordant note. He reduced the entire problem to Vietnamese-Cambodian relations and levelled gross accusations at Vietnam.

Pronouncements alleging that Vietnam sought to 'exterminate the Khmer people' sounded monstrously uttered by the figure who represents those responsible for the genocide against the people of Cambodia in 1975-1979.

The speech contradicted the general tonality of the discussion to such an extent that even Norodom Sihanouk who continues to advocate inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in a transitional government of Cambodia, dissociated himself in a FRANCE PRESSE interview from Samphan's remarks.

He described Samphan's statement as an attempt to drag out a peaceful settlement as much as possible.

Report on Opening of Cambodia Conference

LD3007055789 Moscow TASS in English 0551 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 30 TASS—By TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov and Yuriy Lopatin:

An international conference on Cambodia opens at the international conference centre here today. It will be chaired by France and Indonesia. The conference is to find ways to a political settlement of one of the most serious regional conflicts.

The conference will be attended by 20 delegations representing 18 countries and two international organisations. Envoys of five countries—permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, three countries of Indochina, six ASEAN member states, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, Zimbabwe representing the Non-aligned Movement, as well as U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar arrived in the French capital.

A Soviet delegation is led by Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member and Soviet foreign minister.

The formation of a Cambodian delegation was a serious problem. After long talks it was decided that it would be "united and quadripartite". The delegation includes Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann, leader of the right-wing nationalist forces, and Khieu Samphan, head of "Khmer Rouge". Their preliminary meetings in the castle of La Celle-Saint Cloud, near Paris, showed the difference of their approaches to a number of the key settlement problems, specifically, the formation of a provisional government, the holding of elections, the exercise of international control and so on. All agree that the role of the "Khmer Rouge" who bear responsibility for the 1975-1979 genocide in Cambodia continues to be a stumbling block at the talks.

The conference will be opened with a three-day session on the level of foreign ministers. Later it will be continued at workshops which will analyse concrete aspects of the Cambodian settlement.

Relations, Trade With Australia Discussed

18070709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Article by A. Ivkin (Sidney): "Filling Ideas With Content"]

[Text] Never before have so many people traveled back and forth to our country from Australia. We are not speaking about tourists alone. Scientists, sportsmen, writers, artists, specialists from enterprises, and representatives of ministries and departments are also going there. They are going with official and private invitations. The consular services in Canberra and Sidney have a right to complain about the lack or delay of

information from Soviet organizations concerning sending visitors to Australia. But from day to day it will be harder for them to work, taking into account the independence of the enterprises and institutions in deciding who is to be sent abroad.

While in the times before perestroyka our guests from Australia were mainly representatives of certain left-wing parties and trade unions and the friendship society "Australia-USSR," sometimes scientists, and very rarely figures from art, not to mention politicians, now practically everyone is interested in visiting us, including delegations from the Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the National Party, and the Australian Democratic Party.

The clearest evidence of the improvement of relations between the two countries in recent years and their new start was the visit to Australia by a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze in March 1987. This was the first Soviet visit at such a high level. At the end of that same year Australian Prime Minister R. Hawke made an official visit to the USSR. He met with M. Gorbachev and conducted negotiations with the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. After these trips the portfolios of the two sides included the Protocol on Mutual Political Consultations, the Program for the Development of Trade and Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and Australia During the Period of 1988-1995, and a number of other agreements, of which I should like to take special notice of two: concerning cooperation in peaceful exploration of space and medicine.

The perestroyka begun in our country contributed a great deal to this diplomatic breakthrough. One of the results of the new thinking in international policy was the appearance of the Asian-Pacific Ocean concept which was first formulated by M. Gorbachev in July 1986 in Vladivostok and subsequently concretized in his interview in the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA and his speech in Krasnoyarsk. The time has come for the diplomats and negotiators to fill these ideas with visible content.

Those who are quite familiar with the history of the relations between Australia and Russia and then the USSR will tell you that the country which, as its residents themselves will joke, is located somewhere "on the bottom of the globe" have never been a threat to us, but by the will of fate in various periods it has been among those who were not our friends, obediently following first "Mother" England and then the United States. We will not find many protest notes either since 1942 when diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. But we were allies in the fight against Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism, and immediately after the war a delegation of the USSR and Australia cooperated fruitfully in the development of the UN charter. As they say, there were all kinds of things but neither we nor the Australians have any desire to remember the bad things. This pertains both to official circles and to public opinion. We now have a desire to open up to one another more. I was repeatedly convinced of this at the most varied levels, beginning with a secondary school somewhere in the heart of the country and ending with the corridors of power in Canberra.

Practically all of our concrete steps and work for reducing regional and international tension are being welcomed by Canberra and finding approval from the Australians. And the Australians have always found support from us in their peace initiatives and positions. It was the Soviet Union that was the first of all the nuclear powers to sign the protocols to the Agreement on a Nonnuclear Zone in the Southern Part of the Pacific Ocean.

Our political dialog with this country has become continuous and the contractual base of our relations has expanded. In a word, in diplomacy the results are in evidence. True, last year turned out to be fairly unspectacular in this respect and there was no further progress. For example, no time was found even for conducting consultations between Moscow and Canberra. Sometimes it seems that Australia is still on the periphery of our foreign political awareness.

Of course it is now experiencing difficult times, especially in the economy which is burdened by foreign debt and is still based mainly on raw materials. But it would be rash to think that its role in the region has weakened. In the fact of the powerful economic offensive from Japan and the "four dragons" Canberra is making persistent efforts to reorient its economy, change its structure, and increase its export potential or at least assume the role of regional generator of ideas, the intellectual leader in a fairly chaotic ocean of political and economic processes in this part of the world.

The idea of transforming a large regional trade and economic association in the ATR [Asian-Pacific Region], expressed at the beginning of the year by R. Hawke in Seoul, has been energetically promoted by Australian missionaries in the capitals of the contiguous states. It originated as Australia's reaction to the ever stronger trade protectionism of the United States and the countries of the Common Market who were undermining its export opportunities in this traditional sales market.

There are many obstacles on the path to the realization of this idea, including those having to do with the question of the Soviet Union's participation in it. In the words of the minister of foreign affairs and trade, G. Evans, there are no "ideological objections" to such an association with the USSR. The obstacle, he said, is the lack of development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and ASEAN countries, which are meant to comprise the nucleus of the association. The PRC, the minister noted, has gone much further in this respect.

Our trade representative in Australia, G. Tikhonov, is not dejected but he is not delighted by the state of affairs in this area either.

"I think that a breakthrough is about to occur in trade and economic relations," he says. "If one looks at the dynamics of our exports to Australia, we are annually increasing the sales of machines and equipment, wheeled tractors, VAZ motor vehicles, refrigerators and household air conditioners, certain machine tools, and instruments. Incidentally," the trade representative notes, "none of this can compare with the volume of our purchases.

"Yes, the USSR trade deficit with Australia is immense. Its proportion in recent years, depending on our purchases of Australian grain, has ranged between 25:1 and 40:1. And we are not likely to be able to reduce this in the foreseeable future. What should we do? Our businessmen in Australia think that we must persistently look on the domestic Soviet market for goods that would sell well here.

"The path to this," thinks the trade representative, "runs through joint enterprises. So far we have no other variant for creating competitive products," he says. "Here, for example," he opens up a box containing a greasy metal object, "is a blade for a machine for shearing sheep. Here, thank God, there are three times as many sheep as there are people. This item is ours, but the design is Australian. The blade was manufactured by the Aktyubinsk Selmash Plant and the technology for tempering it was developed by the Moscow Frezer Plant. A sample batch of these blades is now being tested on Australian farms. I am convinced that they will work very well."

But still where is that "breakthrough" in trade the trade representative is counting on?

Several agreements have already been concluded for the creation of joint enterprises between our organizations and Australian companies. We are just beginning to send to Melbourne products from a small plant for production the construction material vermiculite: using our technology and our equipment but Australian capital and work force. In Moldavia the Melbourne company Lay-tek intends to construct a plant for producing champagnes. Belarusintorg and the consulting firm I.F. Consulting from the state of Victoria have signed an agreement for the creation in Minsk of the joint enterprise Bel-If for evaluation, advertising, packaging, and sales of Soviet technology on Western markets and also the creation of favorable conditions for Australian business in the USSR. The Australian council on wheat intends to construct in Moscow a network of bakeries where bread baking according to Australian technology will be taught to Soviet personnel.

More joint projects are in the stage of discussion but they are progressing slowly. For example, negotiations have gone on too long with the large Australian company Komalko for the construction in our Far East of a combine for smelting aluminum from Australian alumina, which is to be produced from bauxite at a joint enterprise in Australia. Alas, as is frequently the case, the delay is mainly our fault.

There is also something for which to reproach the Australian side. For example, it is giving no reaction to our persistent suggestions concerning a new program for scientific and technical cooperation, although the scientific world in Australia is aware of the high level of our research in the areas which interest this country. And, moreover, Australia recently entered the notorious COCOM [Coordinating Committee of East-West Trade Policy]—a product of the Cold War period. This is apparently a manifestation of the Australian politicians' habit of frequently looking to Washington.

The Soviet embassy is popular among Australian public figures of various profiles. Briefings of local journalists are held here frequently. And this is all right but we are embarrassed to have the Australians see the external appearance of our embassy. The building, which was offered to the Soviet mission in 1948, has become crowded. It is simply impossible to find space here for conversations with visitors. Of course, we must build. But the decision concerning the construction of a new building for the USSR embassy in Australia depends on...the Moscow City Executive Committee. That is where they have so long been unable to resolve the question of completing the reconstruction of the Australian embassy in Moscow. Sometimes so much depends on our big-time politics!

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Shevardnadze's Visit to Iran

Shevardnadze Arrives in Tehran

LD3107210789 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran August 1 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, arrived in Tehran today for a working visit at the invitation of 'Ali Akbar Valayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs.

During the visit Shevardnadze will hold talks with Iranian officials on matters concerning further development of Soviet-Iranian relations, and on a number of international and regional problems, including the situation in Afghanistan.

Begins Talks With Velayati

LD0108111189 Mosocw TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Tehran, 1 Aug (TASS)—Talks began this morning between E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who is here on a visit and A.A. Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

It was with satisfaction that the ministers noted that 1989 is becoming a real turning point in Soviet-Iranian relations which have taken on a new quality of good-neighborliness.

The Moscow summit meeting the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani had landmark significance. Regular and intensive contacts between the two countries' diplomatic departments have played a useful part and continue to do so. This is now the fifth meeting between their leaders this year.

On the same day there was a meeting between the Soviet minister and A.A. Hashemi-Rafasanjani, Majlis speaker of the Islamic Republic of Iran who was recently elected president of the country.

Shevardnadze Meets Indian Counterpart in Paris

LD3107140889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, 31 Jul (TASS)—A meeting was held here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of foreign affairs of India.

Profound satisfaction was voiced over the outcome of the recent conversations in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi.

The prospects for further development of the Soviet-Indian political dialogue and bilateral relations in various spheres were discussed. The ministers expressed satisfaction over the practical implementation of the accords arrived at during the meetings between the top leaders of the USSR and India.

The matter of India's use of a Soviet communications satellite to relay Indian Television channels was decided.

A detailed exchange of views took place on the course and prospects of the conference on Cambodia that has now begun and that has revealed a high degree of mutual understanding. Eduard Shevardnadze spoke out in support of India's active role in achieving a settlement.

Certain other international issues of mutual interest were also examined.

The conversation was held in a spirit of respect and mutual understanding.

TASS Notes Hanging of Higgins, Group's Statement

LD3107162789 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Beirut July 31 TASS—Lieutenant Colonel of the U.S. Army William Higgins, who had headed the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and who had been kidnapped by the Shi'ite "Organization of the Oppressed of the World" in February 1988, was hanged on Monday.

The organisation's statement circulated here has it that Higgins was hanged immediately upon the expiry of the deadline for Israeli authorities to release Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, spiritual leader of the pro-Iranian hizbollah group, who had been kidnapped by Israeli commandos on July 28.

Together with the statement the group circulated video cassettes showing the hanged.

Gorbachev Congratulates Hashemi-Rafsanjani

LD0108104489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent greetings to 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in connection with his election to that high post. The telegram says, in part:

Your recent official visit to the USSR, and the talks which were held in Moscow, undoubtedly furthered continuing all-around development of Soviet-Iranian relations and strengthened the atmosphere of their good-neighborliness and mutual understanding, which serves the interests of our two countries and the Soviet and Iranian peoples.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished the president success and prosperity for the people of Iran.

'Stable' Iranian Relations Applauded

LD3107194189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1330 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Mr 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has won the presidential elections held on last Friday in Iran. According to the available facts announced in Tehran, he commanded more than half of the 24 million votes. And in the course of the people's referendum on the day of the elections, some 95 percent of those who took part supported the proposal for constitutional amendments and additions.

The elections and general referendum of 28 July constitute a significant political event not only in Iran but outside its borders as well. It has evoked great interest among the Soviet people as they view the election of Mr Rafsanjani as president of the Republic as placing the Iranians' trust in the policy of seeking to remove old obstacles in Soviet-Iranian relations and widening and

developing them. The Soviet-Iranian documents that were signed in the course of the recent visit of His Excellency President Rafsanjani to the Soviet Union are full of this spirit.

Iran is also one of the biggest countries bordering the Soviet Union's southern region. It is only natural for public opinion in the Soviet Union to be interested in the prevalence of peace, stability, and cooperation therein. Iran, on the other hand, which occupies an important strategic position in the region in our view, and possesses huge economic and political potentials, is capable of playing a constructive role in improving the situation, especially in the region of the Arabian Gulf and around Afghanistan.

It is common knowledge that Iraq last Saturday renewed its proposal to exchange all POW's with Iran who were captured during the armed conflict between the two countries, and a special Iraqi memorandum has been delivered to the representatives of the International Red Cross in Geneva.

Baghdad's initiative provides a great opportunity to extract Iranian-Iraqi relations from the blocked road of confrontation, and the POW issue must not be a subject of bargaining as it is not humanitarian and cannot bring any political gains. The full exchange of POW's provides both sides with the possibility of marching forward to the subsequent impementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, which constitutes a basis for the settlement of the Iraq-Iran conflict.

It is also desirable to add that the settlement of the POW problem will enhance the reputation of the leaders of both Iran and Iraq alike before the eys of their citizens as well as abroad, and will create a favorable atmosphere for the activities of the new Iranian Republic's president on the political level.

A fruitful dialogue is underway between the Soviet Union and Iran on the Afghan question. In the course of numerous consultations, the two sides have reached agreement that it is necessary to direct future efforts toward halting the bloodshed and toward the search for peaceful solutions for domestic Afghan issues.

The new president of the Republic in Iran begins his duties at a time when there have been no Soviet troops in Afghanistan for over 5 months. The enemies of the national conciliation are exploiting this fact to realize their schemes to monopolize power. We for our part hope Iran will contribute toward normalizing the situation in Afghanistan, and this would respond to the interests of the Iranian people themselves.

Mr Rafsanjani's presidency term has begun at a critical time. Iran is still a target for U.S. economic and political sanctions; its relations with Saudi Arabia and some other countries are tense. There is also the task of rebuilding after the war and the question of democracy on the internal front.

In these circumstances, the emergence of stable Soviet-Iranian relations and their growth on the basis of equality and mutual interest has great significance. They are, in other words, demonstrating the success of the policy of coexistence between states of different social systems, and also indicate that the new thinking is gaining more footholds in the Asian Continent.

U.S.-Soviet Afghanistan Talks Open in Stockholm

LD3107142389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1347 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Stockholm, 31 Jul (TASS)—Soviet-U.S. consultations on Afghanistan began here today. The Soviet delegation is led by N.I. Kozyrev, ambassador at large of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the U.S. secretary of state for Near East and South Asian affairs.

The aim of the consultations is to hold a circumstantial exchange of opinion on questions concerning the earliest possible settlement of the Afghan problem.

Kabul Residents Leave Under Rebel Bombardments

LD3107161789 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul July 31 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov: Afghan rebels again shelled Kabul this morning, firing ten surface-to-surface rockets into the city in less than an hour and a half, and witnesses reported civilian casualties in densely populated areas as a result of the bombardment.

This month alone, the Afghan capital has been hit by more than 200 rockets, killing 122 people on the spot and injuring some 450 others, many of whom have since died.

Over 200 people arrived at the building of the U.N. Mission in Kabul on the initiative of the Kabul clergy last Sunday to hand in a petition for more vigorous U.N. action in the face of the barbarous Pakistani-inspired killing of women, children and old people.

Security forces and army units have subdued several terrorist groups from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan in different areas of Kabul, seizing large amounts of weapons, munitions and explosives.

Three more surface-to-surface rockets, all prepared to be launched against Kabul, were discovered and rendered harmless on Sunday.

According to data from reliable sources, the Kabul population, driven to despair by the shellings, is gradually leaving the city for the northern provinces and Pakistan.

Whereas only a year ago the Kabul population stood at more than two million, today it is just about 900,000.

Despite persisting tension in several regions, Afghan refugees continue to return to their country. But the flow of returnees has diminished lately due to intense hostilities, especially rocket attacks on populated localities.

In Samangan Province, in the meantime, a group led by one Kemal has broken with the rebels and joined a local home-guard force.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent three more notes to the U.N. Mission in Kabul, listing further Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Solton on U.S., USSR Stands on Afghanistan

LD3107141689 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The USSR and the United States are beginning their 2-day consultations on the Afghan problem in Stockholm on 31 July. Yuriy Solton comments.

You probably remember that the Soviet Union and the United States are guarantors of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, signed on 14 April last year. Moscow and Washington pledged to refrain from all forms of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan. In a declaration on international guarantees they proclaimed their intention to respect the bilateral agreement reached between Kabul and Islamabad on noninterference and nonaggression, and urged all countries to follow suit. However, the real development of events differed from what had been visualized in Geneva. Pakistan embarked on the road of grossly violating the agreements it had signed. As for the United States, in my view, writes Yuriy Sloton, it turned into a guarantor of military interference in Afghanistan, harsh as it may sound. Washington increased its arms shipments to the Afghan rebels. It sent a special representative of the U.S. Administration to the interim government formed by the opposition in Peshawar, who actually became its first adviser.

Washington justified Pakistan's participation in organizing military operations on Afghan soil. It increased military aid to Islamabad. There are plans to supply Pakistan with another consignment of F-16 nuclear-capable fighter-bombers, which might be used in the endeavors to exert military pressure on Kabul. Washington explained its policy with references to Soviet arms shipments to the Kabul government. But in the first place Moscow deals with Afghanistan's legitimate government. Secondly, the Soviet Union has proposed to the United States more than once to reciprocally stop all arms shipments to the warring sides with a view to give the policy of national reconciliation a chance to succeed. This proposal was turned down every time.

One more circumstance is noteworthy. Lately, after military defeats sustained by the rebels outside Jalalabad, when the hopes that the Kabul government would fall, upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, failed to materialize, the United States began to speak of the need to reach a political solution to the problem once again. Nevertheless, U.S. officials seem to understand this in a peculiar way, as the capitulation of the Kabul government led by President Najibullah. However, a settlement cannot be gained without participation of that country's most powerful and well-organized political force, the Afghan People's Democratic Party, which has real authority and military power.

In my view, Kabul has suggested the only possible way out of the deadlock—ceasefire, hold general elections in the country, and form a coalition government with the involvement of all opposition forces. There is only one precondition for this, an end to outside interference in Afghan affairs and strict compliance with the Geneva accords by their guarantors, too.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Cables Angola's Dos Santos

PM3107143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report "Soviet Leadership's Message"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev has sent a message to Angolan President J. E. dos Santos concerning the accords on a cease-fire and measures to further normalize the situation in Angola reached in Gbadolite (Zaire) at the end of June. The message welcomes this important step toward a political settlement in Angola, which meets the vital interests of its people and brings them peace. It notes that these accords are evidence of growing understanding of the need for political rather than strong-arm solutions of conflicts. The Soviet Union regards them as a valuable contribution to the process of eliminating a dangerous seat of tension in southern Africa.

It expresses support for the efforts of J.E. dos Santos aimed at establishing peace and stability in Angola and wishes him new successes in the struggle for this lofty objective.

The Soviet leadership has also sent messages to the leaders of African countries which took part in drawing up the formula for the internal Angolan settlement. They speak highly of the contribution made by those African states to a settlement in Angola, including the peacemaking role of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko and express the hope that these efforts will exert a beneficial influence upon the fate of not just the southern African region but the whole continent. The messages draw attention to the need to seek a halt to all foreign interference in Angola's internal affairs.

The Soviet leadership's message and the support for the Gbadolite accords expressed in it have been received with great satisfaction by the leaders of African countries.

Reportage on Zambian Delegation's Official Visit

Parliamentarians Arrive

PM2707132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Zambian Parliamentarians in Moscow"]

[Text] A delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia headed by Assembly Speaker F. Mulikita [name as transliterated] arrived in Moscow 24 July on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Lukyanov Receives Delegation

LD2907104989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation from the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia, led by Speaker Mulikita. During the conversation, which proceeded in the spirit of mutual understanding typical of Soviet-Zambian relations, the importance of improving further ties between the two countries' parliaments was noted. The sides spoke in favor of further developing Soviet-Zambian relations and of filling them with new content.

Shevardnadze Meets Zimbabwean Counterpart in Paris

LD3107134389 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 31 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today had a meeting with Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira. Zimbabwe takes part in the conference on Cambodia as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The two men exchanged views on the progress at the initial stage of the Paris conference and stressed the importance for all its participants to display restraint, realism and political will towards reaching an agreement.

Among other international issues, the situation in and around Afghanistan occupied a special place in the conversation. The impossibility of the military solution was noted. The position of the Kabul government is strong and its prestige is growing inside and outside the country. This should be realized by everyone. The ministers stated the need to continue a search for ways of attaining national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

It was agreed to meet again in New York at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly to continue a dialogue both on international issues and on bilateral Soviet-Zimbabwean relations.

Seychelles' Rene on Election Congratulations

PM2507084089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection Albert Rene's reelection as president of the Seychelles, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a congratulatory telegram with wishes for good health and success to him personally and for happiness and prosperity to the friendly Seychelles people.

In a reply telegram, F.A. Rene expressed sincere gratitude for the congratulations and the conviction that the bonds of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation which exist between our countries will continue to strengthen.

West Europe

Further Reported on Yazov's 28 Jul Speech

PM0108104589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit Over"; further reportage on this speech appeared in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 36-39]

[Text] The USSR defense minister today [28 July] addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He emphasized that the perestroyka underway in the Soviet Union is closely linked with the improvement and humanization of relations among states, and preconditions for mankind's progress and survival can be ensured on only one basis—disarmament.

The process of practical nuclear disarmament has now begun. It is important to impart an irreversible nature to it and extend it to other types of arms, Army General D.T. Yazov pointed out. He spoke of the specific steps the USSR is taking in the sphere of disarmament and the reduction of armed forces and arms. Speaking of the prospects, the speaker pointed out that positive changes have become apparent in all the current talks. We believe, he declared, that there is a real possibility of agreeing on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic armed forces of the USSR and the United States, on the elimination of chemical weapons, on the radical lowering of dangerous military confrontation in Europe, and on the phased prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. But serious work will be required to implement this. Its success depends on mutual understanding and readiness to move toward each other.

The Soviet military chief named the mutual reduction of Naval Forces one of the most important problems of disarmament. The Soviet Union sees the extension of confidence-building measures to naval activity as an inalienable part of the all-European process, he pointed out.

Touching on the problem of space weapons, Army General D.T. Yazov emphasized that the USSR is categorically opposed to the creation [sozdaniye] of any kinds of them whatever. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it will not be the first to make the stride into space bearing weapons. This is our firm pledge, he pointed out.

The USSR, the defense minister pointed out, advocates the full withdrawal of all foreign troops from other countries' territories, the elimination of military blocs in Europe, the simultaneous disbandment of both alliances, and, as a first step, the elimination of their military organizations.

Army General D.T. Yazov answered questions from those present.

In the evening the USSR defense minister left for home.

He was seen off at the airport by A. Hamilton, British minister of state for the Armed Forces, and other officials.

The sendoff party included L.M. Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Britain.

UK's Thatcher, Biryukova Discuss Trade

PM2807113389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] London, 27 Jul—A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is visiting Britain, was received by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher Wednesday.

An objective conversation took place on the expansion of Soviet-British cooperation in the modernization of light and textile industry enterprises and the production of medicines and medical equipment. Questions of expanding the practice of training Soviet management cadres in Britain were discussed.

M. Thatcher spoke in favor of broader participation by British firms in the implementation of Soviet programs for the production of light and food industry output. There was a general discussion of questions of economic and social transformations in the Soviet Union and the consolidation of democracy and glasnost.

The prime minister wished the Soviet people success in the implementation of perestroyka processes, expressing confidence that the tremendous efforts being made by the Soviet leadership will be crowned with success.

USSR Ambassador to Britain L.M. Zamyatin took part in the conversation.

Shevardnadze, Dumas Discuss Cambodia, Iran

LD3007092589 Paris Domestic Service in French 0900 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Roland Dumas held a 1-hour meeting this morning with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. Both the French and Soviet sides were sparing in their comments following the meeting, but it is known that the talks dealt essentialy with Lebanon, Iran, and of course Cambodia prior to the international conference which opens this afternoon in Paris.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-Dumas Meeting in Paris

PM3107145589

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 31 July 1989 carries in its Morning Edition on page 3 a TASS report under the general heading "Meetings on the Eve of the Conference." Comparison of the IZVESTIYA item with the translation of the item entitled "Shevardnadze Meets France's Dumas in Paris," published in the 31 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 40, reveals the following variations:

page 40, column two, paragraph five, second sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...this international forum, he said, and increases the... (adding words)

last paragraph, second sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...Dumas agreed to hear information on this matter during... (rephrasing)

Peace Committee Official Decries FRG Revanchism

AU3107143589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Revanchist Claims by FRG Politicians Outrageous"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The Soviet public received the statements by leading FRG politicians about the alleged continuous existence of the German Reich within the borders of 1937 with concern and indignation, Radomir Bogdanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, told ADN. The followers of revanchism and military confrontation want to revise the European postwar order, which is emphatically demonstrated by these forces' hostility toward detente. Bogdanov said the USSR public is particularly shocked by the revanchist excesses of Theo Waigel, chairman of the Christian Social Union and FRG finance minister. One conclusion to be drawn from the open claims to territory, which are

aimed at stirring up tensions and military confrontation, must be to further spread the historical truths about the crimes of fascism among the young generation. In particular, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, the young people must be mobilized for active work against war and revanchism. Only joint actions by all antifascists, regardless of their ideology and nationality, were able to defeat Hitlerite fascism 44 years ago. Today, too, such an alliance must oppose all neo-Nazis and revanchists, Bogdanov said.

New Checkpoint for Border Trade With Turkey

TA2707104589 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1000 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Border trade between Turkey and the Soviet Union has been allowed at Artvin's Sarp border checkpoint. A decree by the Foreign Trade and Treasury Undersecretariat allowing border trade between Turkey and the USSR at the Sarp border checkpoint has appeared in today's OFFICIAL GAZETTE. An agreement to this effect was signed in Moscow on 6 July.

Lukyanov Receives New Cypriot Ambassador

LD2807192489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Today Khristoforou, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus, presented his credentials in the Kremin to Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The ambassador expressed satisfaction at the stable development of friendly Soviet-Cypriot relations in various spheres. Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Lukyanov noted the constructive character of Soviet-Cypriot political dialogue, which corresponds to the spirit of traditional friendship between our countries. After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, a friendly conversation took place between Lukyanov and Khristoforou.

Soviet Eskimos Attend Greenland Assembly

LD2807110589 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Copenhagen July 28 tass—A Soviet delegation is for the first time attending the North Polar Region Inuit (Eskimo) Association's general assembly, which is being held in the town of Sisimiut on Greenland.

The delegation represents 1,600 Soviet Eskimoes who live on the Chukchi Peninsula and is present at the assembly as observer.

The elaboration of an environmental protection strategy for the areas inhabited by Eskimos is one of central items under discussion at the assembly.

In this connection, Nadezhda Otke, the leader of the Soviet delegation, in her speech pointed to the need for international cooperation in solving the ecological problems of the Arctic.

The Soviet side expressed the view that 26 nationalities of the Polar North of the Soviet Union would possibly join the association, which is a nongovernmental organisation set up 12 years ago. it represents the interests of about 100,000 Eskimos of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Delivers Moncada Anniversary Speech

PM0108084989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Continuity in the Cause of the Fighters"]

[Text] Havana, 27 Jul—Cuba's leader Fidel Castro spoke Wednesday at a rally to mark the Day of the National Uprising—the 36th anniversary of the storming of Moncada Barracks. This year's festivities were held in the administrative center of Camaguey Province.

F. Castro noted that great changes have taken place in the 30 years of revolution on the territory of this eastern province, which until 1959 was considered to be a "rural backwater." Camaguey's sugar plants, chemical industry enterprises, plants for the production of mineral fertilizers, factories for the manufacture of construction materials, and food industry enterprises are making a major contribution to the national economy's development.

Touching upon questions of international politics, the speaker stated that a special situation prevails in the world revolutionary movement, brought about in particular by difficulties in the socialist community countries. He noted in this context that Cuba primarily upholds every country's and every party's right to be independent.

In the last few days, the Cuban leader declared, we have received a warm fraternal message which was sent on behalf of the Soviet people by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers on the occasion of Cuba's national holiday. We have friendly feelings for the Soviet Union and sincerely wish the people of the Land of the Soviet to overcome the existing domestic difficulties, to consolidate their unity, and to keep up and consolidate the role they played in the world arena.

The leader of the Cuban revolution declared that, in the face of imperialism which still pursues a hardline course toward the republic, the people of the Island of Freedom are ready to repulse any aggressive actions. We know how to fight in any conditions, even if a total blockade were to be introduced. The Cuban people will always stand in the front ranks of the fighters for independence and progress, F. Castro emphasized.

U.S. 'Embarrassment,' Drug 'Scourge' Viewed

PY2907134889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Valentin Mashkin commentary]

[Text] The Costa Rican authorities have accused high-ranking U.S. officials of drug trafficking. But first of all, I want to remind those who may not be aware of the U.S. officials who are specifically accused by Costa Rica. They are the men who have a sorry reputation in, or better said, the antiheroes of the Iran-contra scandal: Oliver North and John Poindexter.

This scandal, also known as Irangate, originated during the Reagan Administration. With money obtained from the secret sales of weapons to Iran, the United States was financing the Nicaraguan contras, who took up arms against the Sandinist republic.

But this financial assistance was given secretly due to U.S. Congress resolution in force at that time, prohibiting military aid to anti-Sandinist groups.

Now, it has come to light that money to finance the Nicaraguan operations has also been obtained from drug trafficking. The dirty Yankee war with the support of Somoza's followers is in itself immoral. But financing that war by means of drug trafficking makes it even more immoral because each bag of poisonous drugs that is sold carries a death threat. The victim may well be a young man in the prime of life, with his whole life ahead of him.

But this story has even more sensitive aspects, I would say. It would seem that the Iran-contra operation was okayed by top U.S. officials. Thus, the drug scandal casts an even bigger cloud on former President Reagan.

In any case, this is the idea expressed by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. He referred to this in a meeting with representatives of committees of solidarity with Nicaragua from several countries.

Of course, the CIA is heavily involved in the drug deals. I say of course because this dependence on espionage and sabotage has been tied to the narcotics issue since the era of the war against Vietnam.

The Costa Rican authorities have particularly cited Joe Fernandez, a leader of the CIA in that Central American country. The irony of this very uncomfortable situation for the United States is that not long ago the United States gave the Costa Rican Government information on Panamanian General Noriega's involvement in drug trafficking, while this other drug trafficking is carried out with the participation of the United States itself.

Well, I do not want anyone to think that I enjoy other people's misfortune. I only report the facts. Any rejoicing in this regard is absolutely out of place.

Drug trafficking is a scourge for humankind. There are very few countries, or perhaps none at all, where drug trafficking does not exist. Not long ago, in Cuba, a group of officials from the army and from the Interior Ministry were tried for participating in such a nefarious activity.

Unfortunately, drug traffickers also exist in the Soviet Union. But it is a different thing that in Washington [word indistinct] always pretends to be a firm and consistent fighter against drug traffickers, and Washington is always reproaching Latin American countries that allegedly do not show the appropriate zeal in this struggle. And then there is the embarrassment. The fact is that drug trafficking has existed in the United States for many years and at the highest level.

I again want to repeat that I do not rejoice over other people's misfortune. Neither is it my desire to defame the United States. But facts are facts. The drug affair demonstrates once again that, for the sake of achieving its political ends, Washington sometimes does not care about the means.

Political & Social

Reportage on 1 Aug Supreme Soviet Session

Gorbachev Gives Report

LD0108100989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Excerpts] At the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Over to the all-union radio correspondents' point in the Kremlin. At the microphone is Aleksandr Ruvinski. [passage omitted]

Now, after a brief interval, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is giving a report. It is a report on foreign policy activity, which is being given at the request of deputies. Mikhail Sergeyevich is telling of the results of his latest trips abroad and of the results of his talks with foreign statesmen. Mikhail Sergeyevich dwelled on assessments and conclusions of his meetings during the visit to major European countries. You will recall that there have recently been visits to Great Britain, the FRG, and France. Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed that Europe is no longer the same as it was some years ago. Our relations are changing rapidly. There is more trust, more frankness. In general, relations with foreign countries are deepening. The mood of the public in those countries provides grounds for joy. The Soviet leader and members of the delegations were given very warm receptions and there is an impression that many barriers have collapsed. The elections in our country, the recent congress, and now the Supreme Soviet work in the Kremlin are giving rise to very great interest aborad.

Mikhail Sergeyevich is now continuing his report and you will, of course, be able to acquaint yourselves with it in detail in our subsequent Mayak and latest news bulletins. Tomorrow it will be published in the press. Overall, the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work.

Gorbachev's Remarks Cited

LD0108100289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 1 Aug 89

["At the USSR Supreme Soviet session," presented by commentator Vladimir Korablev]

[Text] The work of our parliament is coming to a close. At today's joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, deputies are to consider a number of important issues. These issues include adopting a decision on holding ahead of term elections to the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and to local soviets of people's deputies, and considering a draft law on urgent measures to improve pensions and social security for the population. The deputies will also hear information from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the results of his state visits to the FRG and France. They will pass an appeal from the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress on matters relating to a moratorium on nuclear explosions and stopping nuclear testing.

Comrade Pivovarov, Supreme Soviet member, chairman of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, spoke on the first point on the agenda. He familiarized deputies with the draft decision which had been prepared on holding ahead of term elections to the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies, which notes that these sessions will be held from the bottom upward and that they should consider the most important issues in the life of the various regions of the country.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev then took the floor. He said, in part:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Many local bodies wait until everything is resolved, until there is a new law, until all the normatives are worked out governing relations at all levels with the enterprises. Where the local soviets are concerned it is just the same: They wait until the question of the structure of the local soviets has been resolved with due consideration for the fact that they now have to involve themselves more in the economy and take responsibility upon their own shoulders; and with due consideration for the fact that party bodies are dealing with these questions on an operational basis to an ever decreasing extent. They also await increases in pay. I have to say that all of these are vital questions, correct questions, because without solving them it would be difficult to count on the soviets to get down to work. A legal basis is needed, a structure equal to the new tasks of the soviets is needed. Thought must be given to attracting strong cadres into the soviets and to the level of pay of this apparatus, for let us be blunt about it, the best people don't come when the level of pay for work for the soviets is like that. It is right, therefore, that all of this should be raised. Comrades, on the other hand, I can list for you now literally dozens of oblasts that have an enormous amount of work going over the past 2 or 3 years in neglected regions: They have given, they have put forward their own specific programs within the framework of perestroyka; they have attached it to the specific situation and have already achieved substantial progress. Take a region like our Chernozem Zone. It used to be very bad in Voronezh: Look how things are getting going there. Take Tambov: Things are getting moving, getting better. In Lipetsk things are moving, in social issues and in the food sector, and so on. Take Ryazan. How many articles have been written about the neglected state of that oblast? Now articles are appearing which talk about real changes in that difficult oblast. Hence, even under the present situation, it is possible to resolve issues.

This topic, therefore, the opposition between the center and the localities, must be transformed into cooperation between the center and the localities. It must be done on an initiative-taking basis—this has to be stressed—for that only does harm. [as heard] I felt that way when I was at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session. There, too, they took offense at the USSR Supreme

Soviet, at the critical remarks that were made here, and to applause several speakers took issue with the debates and the speeches of some USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. There, too, I think, it was a case of emotions coming into play a little, so to speak. It does not matter. In my opinion it is useful. Workers were reminding everyone that at the center people have to think and act more resolutely and in the localities people have to think and act more resolutely.

Now, in the spirit of, so to speak, this situation there are recommendations to party bodies to hold plenums, to discuss how they are functioning, what is happening, why communications have broken down between party bodies, party cadres, and workers' collectives. Why are the soviets and the trade unions not working on these very things we have been discussing? After all, they have their own specific duties and these have to be executed.

We have many interesting programs. Look, we are, after all, increasing housing by 15 percent; we are building up social and cultural amenities by from 19 to 25 percent, we have major programs under way. Now? A great deal has come to a standstill in capital construction. Commissionings [of plants] has not slowed down. This, so to speak, comes down to the people. We need all these programs, they are located on certain territories, where there is a soviet, there are people. Surely that is not a matter for debate?

So, I think we are on the right track. May everyone correctly understand us. In my view, the Supreme Soviet is proceeding from a sense of responsibility, catching the mood of the working people, which has come through to us in an acute form in the past few days; and there should be a recommendation on the term of sessions that are ahead now, so that everything can be considered, can be chased so that not a day is lost and no time is lost. When the elections are held, when the law is there, we will have everything working. But we have to act now. It would seem as if there were no opportunities for working on resolving matters, but there are. Albeit limited, albeit inadequate: That is all true. We can admit to that. But we have to act, and therefore, I think, our draft proceeds from that approach. I think that our endorsement of this recommendation only serves to stress that the Supreme Soviet understands that without the activity of the local bodies, without their role being enhanced, nothing will come off successfully here in perestroyka. This act, therefore, emphasizes not disrespect, but on the contrary, respect for local bodies and their roles. [end recording]

[Korablev] Following the passing of the decision on holding sessions of the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies ahead of term Supreme Soviet members heard a report from USSR Minister of Finance Comrade Pavlov on a draft bill on urgent measures to improve pensions and social security for the population. It makes provision for the minimum amount of old age pension paid to workers, office workers, and collective farmers to be increased to R70 per month from October of this year. Incidentally, this affects 18 million people. In the course of debate of the draft law, deputies fowarded several amendments and proposals, and it was decided to continue its final consideration following the break.

Pensions, Veteran Benefits Discussed

LD0108093789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 1 August broadcasts a 7-minute report by correspondent Igor Zorin from the Kremlin on the day's proceedings at the Supreme Soviet. He says the session is still in progress even though a break was due at midday.

Zorin reports: "The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision today on holding extraordinary sessions of soviets of people's deputies. This decision says in particular that the acceleration of the implementation of measures to expend the real rights of local soviets should promote, in conditions of perestroyka, full use of opportunities to overcome economic difficulties, improve services to the population and help ease tension in socio-economic relations and relations between the nationalities. Second, the Supreme Soviet recommends holding extraordinary sessions of the soviets for these purposes in August and September this year, 1989, with subsequent reports. These sessions will have to carry out a throrough analysis of the specific situation in each republic, kray, oblast, city, and rayon, and deputies added autonomous okrugs, in order to overcome everything that undermines the people's faith in perestroyka."

The session then discussed the USSR law on urgent measures to improve pensions and social services. Zorin notes: "The country will find R6 billion annually to raise the living standard of acutely needy pensioners from all spheres of the national economy, I would say. Pension discrimination, if you will forgive the word, which has gone on for many years will finally disappear for kolkhozhniks and their years of labor. I can't list everything from this document in our bulletin, but let me mention a few points. It is proposed that 8.5 million kolkhozniks and almost the same number of workers will receive an old pension of up to R70 as of 1 October this year. First category invalids will receive up to R85. Second category invalids will receive up to R70 per month, and there are more than 2 million such invalids in the country."

He continues: "Those who took part in the Great Patriotic War will receive free prescriptions, and they will also be given the right under this bill to free travel on all public transportation apart from taxis."

The presenter asks: "Does that extend to Afghan veterans?"

Zorin replies: "Yes, I think it does. You know, I couldn't take it all in. It was a long discussion, and I've only got 5 minutes. It is proposed to raise the allowance for people who have been invalids from childhood. That is very

important, too. Well, all I have said about pensions has not yet been adopted, let me repeat. It is still at the draft stage. The commissions and committees will consider these morning remarks by many deputies up to 1600, and at the evening session at 1600, to judge from the atmosphere at the debate, they will adopt the law on approving pensions—let me call it that for brevity's sake—I think. All these remarks are aimed at making improvements to certain articles in the bill."

In conclusion presenter asks: "Look, Igor, do you know when they are going to wind the session up? It was supposed to finish on the 4th but will they have enough time?" Zorin replies: "I think they will. I think that this 6th week will be the most concentrated."

Further Reported on 31 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Debate Held on Taxing Cooperatives

LD3107122689 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: The Soviet Parliament's consideration of the decree of its Presidium on income tax on cooperatives grew into a heated debate on the role and place of the cooperative movement in the Soviet economy.

Late last week Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov, presenting the decree for the deputies' consideration, described it as the most complex of all decrees submitted for the endorsement of the session. Almost three hours of debate today confirmed that he was right. Most diverse, sometimes polarised views reflecting the population's attitudes to cooperatives and the cooperative movement as a whole were expressed.

Several deputies, specifically Vladimir Stepanov from Karelia, suggested postponing the adoption of the decree. This stance was motivated by the need to make amendments to the earlier adopted Law on Cooperation, which, in Stepanov's view, establishes excessively high privileges for cooperatives as compared to state enterprises.

Deputy Aleksandr Vasilets from Kolomna, Central Russia, added that workers demand the closure of all, as he put it, profiteering cooperatives.

From the point of view of economists, for instance Vladimir Tikhonov, the decree under discussion will not play a positive role and will only trigger a further price hike. On the one hand, high tax rates envisaged in the decree will result in the closure of industrial and building cooperatives which usually operate more efficiently than state factories and plants. On the other, the same high rates will not scare trade-and-purchasing and similar cooperatives whose activity sparks off numerous complaints from the population. They will just go into the shadow economy, Tikhonov said. He proposed elaborating drastic measures against profiteering, organised crime and racketeering, and the creation of a professional tax inspectorate.

This standpoint, however, clashed with the view of Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Legislation, Law and Order. He said that if parliament does not endorse the decreee, this will lead to the collapse of the existing system of taxing cooperatives, although deficient. He suggested endorsing this document with the amendments which were proposed by the parliament's standing bodies and, in his view, have significantly improved the initial text. Simultaneously, Alekseyev called for the preparation of well-considered amendments to the USSR laws on cooperative ventures and on state enterprise by the autumn parliamentary session.

The entire course of the debate has convinced deputies that haste in tackling this involved question is absolutely inadmissible. Therefore, on Lukyanov's proposal, the parliament today voted to send the decree to the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, Law and Order for further study, taking account of all of deputies' remarks and proposals. It was noted that the decree on income tax on cooperatives should be endorsed during the current parliamentary session.

Law on State Crimes Considered

LD3107163989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] At the USSR Supreme Soviet session: We are going over to the all-union radio correspondents in the Kremlin. At the microphone is Marina Novitskaya:

[Novitskaya] At the afternoon and evening sessions the Supreme Soviet considered a law on confirming the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 8 April 1989 which, let me remind you, was entitled "On the Introduction of Alterations and Additions to the USSR Law on Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes," as well as certain other legislative acts of our country. Let me remind you that Article 11 (1) of this decree was rescinded by the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies—that was on 9 June this year—but the congress also spoke on the need for certain other amendments to the decree. It was proposed in particular that it should be determined that criminal responsibility ensues only from calls for a violent overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social structure, and also that the directive that the use of technical means is an extremely aggravating circumstance be removed. At today's discussion the deputies suported these amendments. All the deputies' proposals were considered today by the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. It held a sitting during the break. Both these and certain other amendments which I have mentioned were taken into consideration and the text of the decree was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet then began consideration of the law called "On the Order of Publication and Enforcement of Laws Being Adopted by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet." This issue is not so simple as it seems, for it determines at what moment a law goes into effect and how it becomes known to all of the country's citizens. Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, made a report on this issue. He stressed that timely, complete, and authentic information on the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet are of special significance. He recalled how much had been done during the coverage of the first congress and the first session. He said that the work done by radio and television to cover the congress had been unprecedented. To date, there had been a total of almost 105 hours of direct relays from the congress and the session. The rapporteur evaluated this work as a unique act of glasnost which was without parallel in world parliamentary practice. He also said that preparations had begun of a stenographic report of the Congress of People's Deputies. It will consist of 6 or 7 volumes each with 30 or 40 printed pages. The report of the first session of the Supreme Soviet will be approximately of the same length. The journal of the Soviet of People's Deputies is being transformed. It will now be called The People's Deputy and it will publish the speeches of deputies, alternative proposals on laws, etc. Finally, the most important thing: All the laws adopted by the congress and the Supreme Soviet will be published in a special gazette and will go into force simultaneously throughout the country 10 days after their publication. As you can see, it is a very important law.

Here I end my report from the Kremlin where the USSR Supreme Soviet session is taking place.

Further on Law on State Crimes

LD3107210489 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Another step towards democratization of Soviet criminal law was taken today as the parliament endorsed the decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium on introducing amendments and changes into the law of the Soviet Union on criminal responsibility for state crimes.

Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov stressed in presenting it, among other decrees, for consideration of the Supreme Soviet last week, that the decree had been prepared with account taken of the world practice. It does not contradict the spirit of international treaties or the general stance of the states whose leaders signed the Helsinki and Vienna acts. The new decree restricted the sphere of application of criminal responsibility for crimes against the state by removing from the law the notion of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" which afforded an extensive range of practical interpretations. The law laid down that people are liable only for deliberate acts spearheaded against the Soviet system.

At the same time, it was pointed out that the first variant of the decree passed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium last April did not meet with unanimous recognition. The Congress of People's Deputies even repealed an article of the decree dealing with responsibility for discrediting state bodies and public organizations. The parliamentary Committee for Legislative Issues, Legality and Order had to revise the text and clarify some of its formulations.

Nevertheless, when the document was put to the vote at the close of the afternoon session, it set off a new round of heated debates, following which corrections had to be made in the text during the intermission preceding the evening sitting. A clause was deleted demanding stronger punishment for the use "of technical means designed or adjusted for producing copies for mass circulation." The text of the decree as voted into law is much more succinct and precise, experts said.

The Soviet parliament also promulgated today the law on the order of publication and enforcement of laws and other acts adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and their agencies. It is laid down in the law that laws are enacted simultaneously on the entire territory of the country upon the expiry of ten days after their publication in a newsletter of the congress and the Supreme Soviet, or in the newspaper IZVESTIYA which has a circulation of eleven million copies.

Control Committee Position Filled

LD3107170989 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent from the Kremlin:

The last—before summer vacations—working week of the Soviet parliament began today with discussion of the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, left over from the previous week. Of special importance among the approved decrees is the decree eliminating from the state crimes law the notion of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" which in the pre-perestroyka times was used to prosecute dissidents.

Several decrees were turned down and sent for further elaboration, including that on income tax from cooperatives which is causing acrimonious debate. The deputies have nevertheless, agreed that it would be approved at this session of parliament.

Today deputies elected 50-year old Toktogul Chilebayev from Kirghizia (Soviet Central Asia) to the post of deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, which had remained vacant. The rest of the committee leaders had been elected previously.

During an exchange of opinions on general matters toward the end of the afternoon meeting the floor was given to Boris Yeltsin, one of the cochairmen of the "interregional deputy group." Organisationally, the "group" took shape over the past weekend. As has been announced, it will express the "position of left-radical strata of the population." Yeltsin tabled a motion to hold early sessions of the Congress of Peoples Deputies in September to introduce amendments to the USSR Constitution concerning the electoral system.

In the opinion of historian Roy Medvedev there was no need to convene the Congress of Peoples Deputies for one or two days to amend the constitution, since this could destabilise the situation. Roy Medvedev cautioned against, as he put it, hurrying democratic development. "The country at present is in need of intensive therapy, rather than a surgeon's knife," Medvedev said.

Deputy Vladimir Foteyev said he doubted the feasibility of an isolated deputy group being set up in parliament. In his words, this might have a negative effect on the unity of the Supreme Soviet. Foteyev was supported by First Deputy Chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers Valentin Ogarok who thought that, despite the group's interesting approaches to some of the problems, its activists lacked constructive proposals on how to resolve them.

Deputy Ivar Raig reported the establishment of the peasant association. In his words, the aim of the association was to put a new phenomenon in Soviet countryside, that of peasant farms (which conventionally could be described as "individual peasants"), on a footing of equality with other forms of rural economic activity such as collective and state farms and leaseholders.

Tomorrow the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will continue its work.

Yeltsin's Speech Broadcast

LD3107214789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Boris Yeltin during recorded relay of 31 July evening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Moscow Kremlin]

[Text] Comrade deputies, as one of five equal cochairmen [of the interregional deputies group]—Sakharov, Popov, Afanasyev, and Palm—I have been entrusted with informing and making proposals at the session. On 29-30 July there was a session of the interregional group of people's deputies of the USSR composed of 388 deputies. The motives causing some of the deputies to decide to form the interregional group of deputies were set out by me in a speech at the Supreme Soviet. The session over those 2 days focused on priority tasks and proposals to table some urgent amendments at this session, as well as preparations for the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. A coordination council of the group was elected of 25 people. It was decided that today one of the most important issues is the preparation for local and republican elections of soviets. You know that with the changes to the election law and the adoption of republican laws taking account the errors and observations on the union one [law] it is necessary to make amendments to the USSR Constitution. Recent events, especially the miners' strikes, are visibly demonstrating the fall in prestige of a number of local party and local soviet organs, and the lack of confidence in them on the part of working people. Some strike committees raised demands for the reelection of those organs. The simultaneously forming dyarchy and removal of those local organs from practical activity show that the elections must not be postponed. On behalf of the group I am tabling the following proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet:

We people's deputies share the dissatisfaction of our electors with a number of provisions of the law on elections of USSR people's deputies. In the speech of a number of deputies at the congress there was alarm that the inadequacies of that law may be transferred to republican legislation on elections to local soviets. Unfortunately, the congress did not attribute due significance to these apprehensions. Presently in a number of republics, draft laws on elections to republican and local organs of soviet power have already been prepared, which preserve the basic inadequacies of the overall union law on elections. It cannot be any other way, since these inadequacies are enshrined in the USSR Constitution in Articles 89 and 102. The adoption of laws in the proposed form will inevitably cause dissatsifaction among the people, and, most importantly, will have a negative effect on the quality of the newly elected organs of power.

As the situation can be changed only by changing a number of articles of the constitution and also on the basis of Article 110 of the USSR Constitution, we deem it necessary, proceeding from a proposal made by a fifth of the people's deputies, to hold an extraordinary meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies in September this year, before the session of the Supreme Soviet, for 1 of 2 days, with a single agenda—the introduction of the required changes in the USSR Constitution and the adoption of the congress' decision on recommendations related to the regulations defining the holding of elections to the republican and local soviets of people's deputies.

At the same time, comrades, I would like to say that the interregional group does not represent a closed or cut-off grouping. It invites all people's deputies to its meetings, as has already been said. The materials and draft documents that are being examined and developed in the group will be submitted to the USSR people's deputies. We invite all people's deputies to constructive and business-like cooperation. [applause]

Deputy Sobchak Speech Broadcast

LD3107223389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1429 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Sobchak at USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 31 July—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! Today we are speaking not simply of confirming the decree on income tax on cooperatives. We are speaking of whether we will preserve a new branch of the economy or whether we will close it down with the help of this decree. In the speeches that have been heard here and in the proposals that have been made, three attitudes concerning this decree have been made, or expressed. The first proposal—it was heard here in the report by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, and in the speech by the minister of finance—was to confirm the decree in the shape in which it was adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Wny must we not go down this path? To what was said by Deputy Tikhonov here, I would add with regard to Valentin Sergeyevich [Finance Minister Pavlov] that he did not tell us a whole series of states of affairs, which he should have spoken about when insisting on confirmation of the decree in its original form as given to us. He should have told us of the following:

First, how, on the basis of this decree, decrees have already been adopted in the union republics on taxation of cooperatives, which establish as a common rate—for example in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], in the Ukraine, in some other republics—a tax rate of 45-50 percent, and of 60 percent on trade and purchase cooperatives. This is on their income. If we recalculate it on their profit, then this rate will be a basic one of about 60-65 percent and for trade and purchase ones, about 80 percent.

Second, he should have told us that if state enterprises pay the corresponding taxes into the budget, and put in—Comrade Tikhonov spoke about this in particular—quite significant sums in the shape of payments for assets, then the cooperatives create their own assets and do not put in similar payments.

Third, he should have told us how it is impossible to achieve equality in the economic situation of state and cooperative enterprises with the help of the decree on taxation. It is impossible if only because there still operates for cooperatives between two and six cooefficients higher than the coefficient for the delivery of raw materials and other materials to them. [as heard] That is to say, cooperatives receive the relevant raw and other materials that they need for their work from state enterprises at a price two, three, four, even six times more expensive than state enterprises do. This means that of itself the decree cannot solve the question, [words indistinct] the question of economic equality in the activity of state and cooperative enterprises.

For this, essential amendments must be introduced into the Law on Cooperatives and the Law on State Enterprises. Here, I fully support both the speech by Nikolay Ilyich Travkin, and the decisions of the interregional group to the effect that these most essential and global changes, which will sharply change the economic situation in the national economy and the activity of the state enterprises and cooperatives, must be introduced before the end of this session.

My second proposal—it has been voiced in a whole number of speeches—is not to adopt the decree at all. Apart from what Sergey Sergeyevich [Alekseyev] said here, that as a result of the non-adoption of this decree, the whole structure, so to say, of taxation of cooperatives will be broken, I would say the following.

Insofar as the decrees of the union republics have already been adopted, are already functioning, and until their turn comes around—after all, if we do not approve the union decree, they will have to be revoked in the appropriate manner by the appropriate bodies of the union republics—many cooperatives—above all, cooperatives that are needed, such as, agricultural and construction cooperatives, those producing construction materials, cooperatives mentioned here today in reconstruction, cooperatives engaged in restoration-type work, scientific research and inventing cooperatives—will simply close. While we wait for these decrees to be revoked, so to speak, given the present taxation, the majority of these cooperatives will simply close down. Then the next negative processes will begin.

Those dishonest cooperatives, in essence, pseudo-cooperatives—which are not cooperatives but mostly trade and purchase cooperatives which have today made profiteering officially legal—will leave, as has already been said, either into the shadow economy, or will begin to disperse around the various republics.

Let's say, in the RSFSR, as always, the most conservative and poorly thought-out acts are adopted. Given those rates of taxation [interrupted by applause] well, this has to be addressed to our Russian Government. Given those rates of taxation that have been set for Russians and those significantly more sensible rates set in the Baltic union republics, the majority, say, of cooperatives of this kind, will change their place of registration. Consequently, Russia, the Ukraine, and the other union republics that have taken the path of the maximum growth of taxes, will simply lose from the budget the taxes that they expect, because cooperatives will easily change their place of registration and once again, the wise Baltic states, wise in this sense, will receive additional revenue for its budget.

Therefore, in my view, only the third path remains: to adopt this decree with the amendments that were proposed by the Committee for Questions of Legislation,

Legality, and Law and Order. Sergey Sergeyevich [Alekseyev] has already spoken about one of these amendments here and I will not pause on this. It is the one about not taxing investment in fixed assets.

But there is a second very important amendment. The decree stipulates that the setting of rates of taxation be handed over to the union republics. We make one addition here: We set the maximum rate of this taxation at 30 percent, no more than 30 percent, so that this rate of taxation approaches the taxation of state enterprises—and it is precisely at this level that it is now set—the real figures, and not those sly figures which have been spoken of from the rostrum, here. This will make it possible for the policy of strengthening the production of agricultural and other necessary cooperatives to really be carried out.

Second, we propose that during the first 2 years of activity, there should be absolutely no taxation of such cooperatives as agricultural and construction cooperatives and cooperatives producing construction materials.

Third, and this is a very important amendment, if we hand over to executive committees the right to release from payment of taxes, we will give a powerful impetus to the development of bribe-taking in the localities and to the further corruption of our state appratus. Thus, we have proposed that any reduction of taxation rates or release from payment of taxation be carried out by an executive committee only in accordance with a decision by a special commission of deputies, so that this matter is placed not within the control of officials, but rather within the control of people's deputies who are truly elected by the people.

Finally, it is very important when resolving matters of taxation to bear in mind that we created cooperatives so that they could serve the population. Now another process is under way. Most cooperatives have striven to serve state enterprises and in this way, are pumping non-cash, free assets of state enterprises across into cash assets. This process is no less dangerous for our economy than the process relating to trade and purchase cooperatives, because—I am just finishing—one and the same work can be done at a state enterprise, by setting up a pseudo-cooperative at this state enterprise, but paying a wage two to three times greater. Therefore, we propose that the rate of taxation for such cooperatives which serve state enterprises be raised to 50 percent. As for trade and purchase cooperatives, no tax pressure at all can cope with them. Here, we urgently need changes in the Law on Cooperatives in order to bring and end to legalized profiteering. [applause]

Deputy Interviewed on Budget Deficit

LD3107120789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 31 July broadcasts an 8-minute report from the Kremlin by correspondent Lyudmila Semina on this morning's session of the Supreme Soviet. She gives a brief outline of the session's remaining legislative agenda, and then interviews Deputy Saunin from Makeyevka, Donetsk Oblast, who gives his views on the current debate surrounding cooperatives. As a member of the Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union, he goes on to talk of the country's economic and financial difficulties.

Deputy Saunin says: "Primarily we are examining problems connected with reducing the state budget deficit. We know that this deficit is growing, and if it was assessed at the beginning of the year at about R100 billion, then today we are already saying that it may be as high as R140 billion. Over the last 6 months, the volume of money has increased by 30 percent, the production of money, that is, the state has been forced to resort to the printing press. But this money isn't backed up by goods."

Session Dates 'May Be Reconsidered'

LD3107115789 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The Supreme Soviet, or parliament, resumed debates on 31 July, as our parliamentary correspondents report.

This week, as is expected, completes the first parliamentary session. As was earlier announced, the parliaments would work until 4 August and resume debates after a month of recess. However, the initial decision may be reconsidered, since new legislation [words indistinct], and the parliamentarians are unable to complete what was set aside for them on time. The parliament has two scores of bills on hand, many of these have to be passed without delay as they are to become the basis of a radical economic reform. These are bills on property in the USSR, on land and land tenure, on lease and lease relations, and on local self-government. Of the most important bills so far only one has been passed. After stormy debates last week parliament decided to give three Baltic republics the right to proceed to self-accountability as of 1 January next year.

Pavlov, Nikitin Address Supreme Soviet 27 Jul

PM2807142489 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report on 27 July sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "At the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The 23 February 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Income Tax on Cooperatives" was submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order submitted a proposal that the decree be ratified with a number of amendments.

Explanations on certain fundamental starting points and motivations behind this document were given by USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov. He recalled that in 1987,

in the initial stage of the activity of cooperatives, it was decided, with a view to stimulating this sphere, to be guided by a resolution on income tax on cooperatives pending the adoption of the Law on the Cooperative System. This resolution provided for a differentiated tax rate of between 2 and 10 percent depending on the duration of the cooperative's activity. But today, the speaker noted, this resolution and the Law on the Cooperative System that was soon adopted by the Supreme Soviet, which, one feels, radically changed the approach to questions of the taxation of cooperatives' income, are patently in conflict. In this connection it was necessary to amend the regulations governing taxation of cooperatives, and the decree that has been submitted for your examination today was therefore adopted.

In view of the fact that it is difficult to adopt a sufficiently substantiated approach to the resolution of this question centrally, it was decided to hand over the right to assess a cooperative's activity from the viewpoint of the application of tax rates to the union republics. Furthermore the present decree in effect aligns the time of the adoption of the decision on the cooperative's activity and the expediency of its activity in a given territory with the instruments of regulation, that is, with taxation. This principle forms the basis of the act under discussion here.

The second principle of the decree is connected with the question of social justice. We proceeded on the basis of accurately reflecting the dependence of tax rates on the prices at which the cooperative operates and who works in it. Provision is made for appropriate concessions if cooperatives use the labor of disabled people and other analogous categories of working people. The relationship between the cooperatives' income and their participation in the implementation of statewide programs and fulfillment of needs is also taken into account.

In the majority of the union republics that have already adopted such decrees, all these features are reflected. The average tax rate on the income of cooperatives varies between 25 and 30 percent. Virtually all the union republics gave preference (with rates of between 0 and 10 percent) to cooperatives that provide services in the care of those incapable of work and those that operate at state prices. At the same time many republics deemed it expedient, and we support this, drastically to increase rates for cooperatives that engage in intermediary activity for the resale of resources bought from collective and state farms or in the state trade network. These rates are set at the level of 50-60 percent.

V.S. Pavlov proposed that the deputies speed up the entry into force of this decree, even if some of its provisions require further work. Delaying the document, in his opinion, will be seen in principle by the majority of the population as another social injustice. As an economist, he said, I also assess the tax system that exists in this sphere today as socially unjust. According to our assessments, out of a total profit of R4,307 million obtained by cooperatives on the basis of figures passing through bank accounts in the first quarter of the year, only R96 million, or 3 percent, found its way into the state budget. State enterprises, as you know, contribute to the budget income in comparable conditions 38 percent of income, not of profit. Therefore the decisions adopted by the union republics today are not only just, but still preserve for the time being a privileged approach to the economic activity of cooperatives.

We are prepared, the speaker went on, after the adoption of this important document actively to participate in the formulation of additional recommendations and the creation of a mechanism to provide incentives for the cooperatives to invest more money in development, rather than in wage funds. Today, unfortunately, the main bulk of the cooperatives' funds, which remains at their disposal, goes into the wage fund, while only 10 percent of income goes into the production and social development fund. It would also be a good thing to make provision for the granting of concessions for expenditure on ecology and on improving work safety, and at the same time to formulate a taxation mechanism that will place in a disadvantageous position those cooperatives that go beyond the bounds of the generally accepted norms of social justice in labor remuneration. Such provisions exist in many socialist countries, and provision is now made for them in new legislative acts in the union republics. [passage omitted]

V.V. Nikitin was given the floor to set forth his program for future activity. It is necessary, he noted, to answer the age-old question: When will Soviet people be properly nourished? The attainment of this goal is possible, but it can only be brought nearer by persistent, industrious, and consistent work by all members of society.

My program, the speaker went on, will be to implement the provisions outlined in the appeal of the agrarian deputies to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and in the congress resolution. I think the question of the organizational forms of agriculture will be resolved with the fewest possible errors by the primary production collectives themselves, and the government should provide the conditions for their development.

Unless the initial questions are resolved, any form will prove unviable. In particular, it is necessary to clear the farms of the debts formed in the years of disrespect for peasant labor. At least the existing parity of prices for industrial and agricultural output should be ensured. The peasants, with the exception of the Far North regions, should be able to acquire everything needed for production and life out of their own resources.

According to expert calculations, we have every opportunity to substantially increase yields in crop farming and productivity in livestock raising. But this means considerably increasing the capital and power available

per worker in agriculture, which lag considerably behind the indicators in, for instance, the United States. In these circumstances expenditure will fall and retail prices will also be reduced.

The countryside, the candidate stressed, needs major capital investments. But the contents of the state exchequer will not satisfy everyone. Additional active reserves must be found. One of these is to increase the professionalism of economic leaders and stimulate the creative intellect of rural specialists. Much is offered by the intensive development of agricultural machine building and the development of radically new types of agricultural equipment. The diversity of forms of economic management will enable every peasant to find an outlet for his strengths and capabilities. International cooperation should be developed more widely. And finally, priority attention should be devoted to the resolution of the countryside's urgent social problems, which, however, is only possible on the basis of increased economic efficiency in the agro-industrial complex.

V.V. Nikitin answered numerous questions from deputies.

Deputies A.F. Kasyanov, A.M. Umerenkov, K.Ye. Ivanov, V.I. Tso, R.A. Allayarov, V.M. Yetylen, G.S. Pokhodnya, A.I. Dubko, I.V. Dorokhov, and V.I. Samarin, who spoke in the course of the discussion of the candidacy, raised various problems in the development of the country's agro-industrial complex and put their wishes in this connection to the candidate for this key government post.

The USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed V.V. Nikitin as first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers by a majority of votes. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Interregional Group

Yeltsin Interviewed

LD3107202489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1855 GMT 31 Jul 89

[From the "Panorama" program; Yeltsin speaks in Russian, fading to superimposed Hungarian translation; no video available]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We have just received a report from Moscow about a sensational event that took place over the weekend: the formation of an interregional reform group in the Supreme Soviet—that is, a group that spans every region of the country, a nationwide reform group. Nearly 400 deputies immediately joined. In the West some call this group—with some liberty—an opposition faction. The group conference ended late last night [30 July]; Boris Yeltsin was elected chairman. "Panorama" was present at the great assembly of the reform group at which the group's flag was unfurled, figuratively speaking.

[Unidentified correspondent] Gavril Popov, the well-known reform economist, dealt in his speech with the strongly democratizing impact of the recent miners strikes. [passage omitted] On arriving at the conference in the morning, Boris Yeltsin—who was elected to parliament with some 6 million votes in Moscow—was received with a celebration befitting the most popular politician. This is how Yeltsin replied to the first question of "Panorama."

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] This is not a revolution from below but—and we should use the words with precision—rather a movement stemming from below. However, whatever we call it, it cannot be stopped any more.

[Correspondent] From the start of the strike, Gorbachev himself supported and approved the miners' demands.

[Yeltsin] Yes, yes. He said that the miners had very justified and just demands. [words indistinct] Well, this is really true, excellent: Power to the people. I think that this provides an answer to every question. I think that every demand of the miners, all 47, are completely justified, legitimate, and await solution.

[Correspondent] Yegor Ligachev visited us in Hungary. Please forgive me if I quote, but not word for word, from the interview which he gave to "Panorama," a Hungarian television program. Ligachev said, roughly speaking, that you make irresponsible accusations, that you are a demagogue and that you attribute the successes of the party to yourself. [He said] that you put false words into the mouth of your opponent and then attack him because this is your style of argument and, in other words, this is the kind of man Yeltsin is.

[Yeltsin] I could characterize Ligachev with even stronger words but I think that he is ripe for retirement. Until now, it has only been his lack of conscience and minimal sense of party ethics [partszeruesege] which has prevented him from leaving. [end recording]

[Announcer] The reform group expects every deputy [to join]; a badge for Deputy Gorbachev has already been prepared.

Group Recommendations Outlined

AU3107120689 Paris AFP in English 1051 GMT 31 Jul 89

[By Francis Curta]

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 31 (AFP)—For the first time since Lenin banned factionalism from the Communist Party in 1921, an official parliamentary group, acting independently, has been set up in the Soviet Union.

Its five co-presidents include former Moscow party boss Boris Yeltsin and former dissident Andrey Sakharov. [passage omitted]

Mr. Yeltsin had previously been tipped to become sole president of the new body.

The former Moscow party boss, widely popular among ordinary voters for his outspoken criticism of the party machine, expressed the hope that the new group would help the "Mensheviks or minority" better to defend their ideas against the conservative "Bolsheviks or majority" in parliament.

The reformists spoke in favour of an action plan set out in the first issue of the group's newspaper, called PEOPLE'S DEPUTY, but said the text should be revised. The plan defines "objectives and principles" in the political, economic and legal spheres.

Notable among the political recommendations is the abrogation of article six of the Soviet constitution which stipulates that the Communist Party should be the "directing and guiding force in Soviet society".

Removal of article six would be an essential constitutional change allowing the formation of a multi-party system.

Mr. Gorbachev has dismissed proposals for a multi-party system.

The reformist action plan goes on to affirm that "there can be no other source of political power in the Soviet Union than the soviets (councils)".

In a keynote speech Saturday [30 July], Mr. Yeltsin called for early local elections in November, to be followed by an extraordinary Communist Party congress before the end of the year.

Purpose of Group Discussed

LD3007213189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] The first session of the interregional deputies' group ends today [30 July] in Moscow. Here is an interview in this context with Konstantin Dmitriyevich Lubenchenko, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a lawyer.

[Lubenchenko] Above all, the very idea of the interregional group's appearance has very serious roots, of course. It is probably necessary to have a certain critical force which should prompt the body of deputies to do more intensive work and direct their awareness to resolving the main, fundamental issues.

It will now be necessary to focus attention on political steps. The central issue of these political steps is the conducting of elections in republics and local soviets before the congress. This is connected with the development of general recommendations. As you know, there was a very heated polemic in the Supreme Soviet with regard to resolving the question of financial autonomy and economic independence of the Baltic republics. And it was in fact this polemic that once again graphically revealed the political issue, because in the Baltic republics this economic independence and financial autonomy, as an important goal which they have set themselves, represents the result both of political self-awareness and the political steps which have been taken in the sphere of power. After all, what they have submitted represents legislative acts adopted by their supreme soviets. In other words, they started out with political steps, the political awareness of the people and the political decisions which are worked out at the level of legislative power. For this reason, the main and central issue is that of power, and to be precise, the conduct of elections to local bodies before the congress.

Here, for instance, is a second problem which also came out here; it was included as a question on the development of recommendations to the congress—to be precise, the provision of judicial protection from actions by collegiate bodies. It will then be possible to take legal action, for example, against a party organization, a rayon party committee, or against the executive committee of some soviet, against a ministry or a department, if these state and public organs should somehow encroach on the rights of citizens. Therein lies the solution of this problem. Another point on the road toward this real demarcation of the functions of party and state is the formation of the status, independence, and sovereignty of the deputy himself—not just the people's deputy of the USSR, but also the deputy at local level. It is a problem of the interaction between deputy and apparatus. At present, because the deputy does not have the technical and material potential to carry out his functions, he finds himself dependent on the apparatus. For this reason, what is it primarily necessary to do in the supreme bodies of power and in all the bodies of power? The body of deputies will become a real ruling body of deputies when, first of all, it takes the first step—when it determines the budget and work of the apparatus and of itself, the body of deputies; second, when it determines the structure and personnel set-up of the apparatus. As they say, whoever has the money and distributes the funds determines or calls the tune.

[Unidentified reporter] Thus, is the conclusion that the interregional group is necessary?

[Lubenchenko] I consider that the movement connected with the appearance of an interregional deputies' group is an entirely natural political movement. If this movement acquires the framework of professionalism, as is now happening in the Supreme Soviet, and in the work of the committees and commissions, then I think that this movement will be able to exert real influence over the development of the political process, of parliamentarianism in our country.

Deputies Cited on Interregional Group

LD3007220989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] The USSR people's deputies who attended a meeting of the interregional group of deputies have spent

2 days—Saturday and Sunday [29, 30 July]—working. Our correspondent Vera Shchelkunova reports.

[Shchelkunova] This group, which according to the registration data of the House of Cinemas where it assembled, numbers 231 members who are united by the task, I quote, "of consolidating all healthy forces to get the country out of the crisis." Perhaps, it was precisely the wide-ranging character of the posed task that doomed the first large-scale meeting to failure, frankly speaking. It simply could not have fulfilled such a task of an organizational nature. A platform was formulated, which will be adjusted, taking into account the proposals that were put forward and submitted to the next meeting. Priorities were elucidated, including the main one: to insist on convening an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies in September with the purpose of amending certain clauses of the USSR Constitution with the further goal of holding elections to the local soviets and the republican supreme soviets as early as this autumn. This will make it possible for new forces to conduct business with new energy and knowledge. In other words, priority was accorded to political reform and the solution of the question of power.

As for specific, purely economic issues, with which the meeting's work started, it became clear very soon that such a beginning was a mistake. One should have started with the political questions of power and ownership. But this is clear not only to the members of this group. Our radical problems were formulated in precisely this way at the Congress of People's Deputies, too, and at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is well-known that the laws on the land and leasing are being developed. Incidentally, I would mention that certain members of the group did not know about that, which is strange because information on the session's work has been sufficiently complete.

At the meeting of the interregional group, the question of the need for taking urgent and extraordinary measures to stabilize the situation in the country until the mechanisms that have been developed or are now being developed become operational was discussed, too. This proposal will also be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. I will not name all the decisions of the group, especially as they do not have the force of law. All this means only that proposals based on them are being submitted to the Supreme Soviet—in other words, we will learn about this in the next few days.

I will quote a number of pronouncements by the deputies who I asked, in fact, the same question: Are they satisfied with progress of work over these 2 days and, as the group intends to make restructuring more radical, which of its decisions are more radical than those adopted at the congress or being developed at the session? Engineer Sebentsov, Moscow, said that the creation of the group is the result of the social frustration of part of the deputies who do not work in the Supreme Soviet, its committees, or commissions. And they have to find an outlet for their civic activity. The group has not solved anything and it could not solve anything, Sebentsov said, due to its unpreparedness and also to the fact that these deputies have failed to keep pace with the Supreme Soviet and the activity of the structures the Supreme Soviet have formed.

Journalist Samarin, from Orel, thinks that the adoption of a platform whose goals to a great degree are based on the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies is the most important result of these 2 days. He called the appeal to convene an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies—which I have already mentioned—a very serious matter. Deputy Fargiyev agreed with him—I talked with him, too.

Solovyev, chairman of the Designers Union, sees the group's radical character in the fact that it insists on an accelerated implementation of the reform in the economy and political life mapped out by the congress. Deputy Reshetnikov from Kaluga adds that he regards this group as a motor inside the whole collective of people's deputies. Deputy Yablonko, of Krasnodar Kray, stressed that, in his view, the group's work is advancing in the direction outlined by the congress, but questions were raised with greater sharpness at the meeting.

I have just had a telephone call informing me that organizational structures, to put it this way, have been formed there: Five cochairmen and a coordinating council have been elected. Generally speaking, a new public initiative is in evidence. I expect that we will hear the word "extremism" in relation to it.

I must say with all responsibility, because I have spent both days there, there was no extremism there, and even the sharpest manifestation of radicalism I saw in the fact that the new future law on the press is seen by members of the group as granting independence to various bodies of the media. Well, let us wait and see how effective and fruitful the work of the new public initiative will be.

Konarev on Railway Situation, Strike Threats

LD0108085389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondents today paid a visit to the USSR Ministry of Railways. [video shows empty office]

[Correspondent Tikhomirov] This is the office of the USSR minister of railways. It would be possible to suppose it to be an office without a master, recalling that the Supreme Soviet did not confirm Nikolay Semyonovich Konarev. It would be a very convenient time for a person of a different constitution to leave the scene, due to the great tension on the country's railroads, the increase of freight, harsh criticism in the press aimed at the Ministry of Railways, and, most importantly, the looming strikes.

Konarev, however, did not leave. It is possible to reproach him a great deal, which is what deputies did, but you cannot deny his firmness of character.

So, here is a conversation on a telephone hook-up today. On the line are 15,830 managers of all services of all 32 railways. [video shows Konarev speaking on a telephone, shots of intercoms]

[Begin Konarev recording] You have become accustomed to the fact that violations of the normal regime have become almost the rule, almost an authorization for you, but you are not authorized to do this. Yet, you do this. On the left and on the right you issue instructions that ultimately lead to the dissatisfaction of locomotive teams and their families, and the creation of tension. So it is to be regarded as an extraordinary event, with an investigation without delay, and the appropriate conclusions for those guilty. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] An impartial conversation, as usual. He was also reproached for this, by the way. The conversation that recently took place, on 28-29 July, was even more impartial. It was a converation between the minister and representatives of working collectives from all corners of the country. Demands were made to the ministry and to the government, and although they spoke sharply at times, they nevertheless reached agreement. They adopted an appeal to the workers of the whole sector not to strike.

Today the minister reported throughout the network on the points concerning measures to improve the life and conditions of the railway workers that the ministry, having calculated its range of options, decided to undertake. [video shows close up of an intercom; indistinct voice of a speaker is heard over an intercom which then fades out]

That is the view, in any case, of the determining, overwhelming number of collectives on the railways. The trade union central committee chairman announced over the link-up that those questions the ministry is not in a position to decide on have been passed to the government. So the tension has been, to a certain degree, lessened. [video shows map of railway network.]

Our other arteries and veins, like an unhealthy living organism, have been subject to clotting, not only as a result of internal but external reasons: Loaded railcars standing idle—loaded even with meat and butter—while shelves are empty in Moscow, Leningrad, and Sverdlovsk shops.

[Begin Konarev recording] Capital investments are not needed here. It is necessary to work, in a fundamental and specific way, to resolve this question. It is not being resolved. Sometimes refrigerators are overfilled, or there are not enough loaders, but, basically, it is a lack of responsibility. [video shows close-up of map of Armenian-Azerbaijan region] [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] A clot recently developed here too. On a section 41 km long between Armenia and Azerbaijan, along the border with Iran.

[Begin Konarev recording] Inventing various excuses, they paralyzed train traffic. Passenger trains are not moving. Freight trains are not moving. Tthat has been happening for several days already. Where does this lead? It is supposed to lead to some resolutions of national questions, either, say, of the Armenian portion of the population, or, of the Azerbaijani. But, in fact, it leads to disrupting the work in restoring the stricken areas of Armenia after the earthquake. After all, a colossal state program has been set in motion there. There has even been sabotage, the setting of explosives on the railway track. They tip crushed rock on the railway track; they organize mass outings of the civilian population onto the track and prevent the movement of trains. They throw stones at passenger trains and train drivers. Almost 200 trains have been held up. No one has the right to touch anyone connected with the functioning of the railways. Is it really possible to turn trains and the circulation of trains into small change?

The country lives, works, and is fed by wheels. I say that unequivocally. Since that is the case, a railcar is to be respected. Do not joke with the operation of the railways. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] [Video shows Tikhomirov interviewing Konarev] Nikolay Semyonovich, does the fact that you were not confirmed as minister by the Supreme Soviet dampen your ardor, does it not restrain your desire to improve operations?

[Konarev] Well, this of course was an unpleasant event in my life. The responsibility entrusted to me, however, obliges me not to think about this too much, but to resolve those questions, which is what I am doing.

Railroad Workers Issue Demands

NC3107081589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0345 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The republic's newspapers published an Azerinform report from Nakhichevan. The report says that the (?Yenidama)-Baku train is stranded on the Nakhichevan tracks. The people do not know when they will be able to travel to and from (?work).

The train is stranded because the mechanical workers of the [words indistinct] are reluctant to drive trains from the (?Karshivan) [word indistinct] area in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. A total of 600 individuals have, in fact, stopped work and issued a number of demands.

The Baku-Yerevan and Baku-Norashen trains were cancelled on 29 July.

Armenian Trains Ordered To Run

NC0108073689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 1 Aug 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] An AZERINFORM correspondent has reported from Moscow that at a meeting held by Colonel General Sakalin, commander of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Forces in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], in Armenian SSR's Milli Rayon, an order was issued for the uninterrupted movement of passenger and freight trains in Armenia.

Situation in Abkhaziya 'Remains Tense'

LD3107221989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Sukhumi, 31 Jul (Gruzinform-TASS)—The process of normalizing interethnic relations is proceeding with difficulty in Abkhaziya. The situation remains tense. According to information from the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, 49 firearms, including 3 training submachine guns and a carbine, have been confiscated in Abkhaziya over the past 24 hours. [passage indistinct]

Of the 180 persons under investigation who escaped from an investigation block in the town of Zugdidi, 112 have been caught. A search for the others is under way. On 28 July, 7 people escaped from the Khoni penal settlement.

The situation in the republic is being controlled by party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies.

IZVESTIYA Notes Situation

PM3107141989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent V. Arsenyev report: "Emotions and Reality"]

[Text] Tbilisi—According to reports from the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the situation there is generally stabilizing. As I was told by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs temporary press center (to which I telephoned from Tbilisi), the confiscation and voluntary surrender of explosives and firearms, including assault rifles, pistols, and rifles, continue. A resident of Ochamchirskiy Rayon's Chlou village has been detained on suspicion of complicity in the murder of Militia Senior Lieutenant V. Novikov and Cadet V. Akopov. Most enterprises in Sukhumi, as well as public, railway, and air transport, are operating.

The attention of most people in Tbilisi is focused on a letter by writer Guram Pandzhikidze that was published by the newspaper KOMMUNISTI and later translated into Russian and reprinted by other newspapers. "Why is it that those who are today rushing around enterprises and calling for stoppages of transportation and the technological cycle even in plants where it should not be interrupted, think that they express the wishes of the entire Georgian population?" he wrote. "Why is it that the several dozen people who tried to shut down the Inguri Hydroelectric power station thought the Georgian people support their decisions?..."

This letter by the famous writer confirms yet again that common sense is beginning to prevail over emotions. Yes, extremely radical declarations are still put forward by individual informals in Georgia. The "Aidgylar" ("Union") Abkhazian People's Forum, which incorporates the flower of Abkhaz intelligentsia, still firmly clings to its past positions. Mutual mistrust is still maintained, pointless arguments as to who is right and who enjoys greater rights continue. But the people are already tired of living in a state of fear and nervous tension.

In the last few days I talked with people of different nationalities, professions, and age groups both in Sukhumi's streets and along Rustaveli Prospekt in Tbilisi. True enough, they preferred not to give their names, still somewhat afraid of being accused of "apostasy." This cannot be ruled out in the present situation, when you can be damned for nothing more than disagreeing with someone's opinion. But they discussed painful issues frankly, hoping for changes for the better. "We are tired of the ambitions of some adventurers, of a policy which inflames the situation to the utmost... How long can this last?.. It is necessary to more swiftly identify specific culprits who sow dissension and discord. Punish them, give a principled appraisal of everything that happened—and the situation will change..."

An appropriate political appraisal of events in Abkhazia and in Nizhnyaya Kartla will be made at the next Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. This was announced by local newspapers. One thing is obvious for the time being: It is impossible to carry on living the way people live here now.

Meetings Held To Discuss Situation

LD3107225989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The process of normalization of interethnic relations in Abkhaziya is proving difficult, and so the atmosphere remains tense in towns and villages. In order to give people peace and allow them to return to work, party and local soviet staff and people's deputies are doing quite a lot. For example, there was a meeting of Khishba, first secretary of the Abkhaz party obkom, with the staff of the Sukhumi locomotive depot where a strike of workers of electric train teams recently ended. It dealt with the work of the organs of the procuracy and internal affairs in investigating and instigating criminal proceedings in relation to the initiators of the disorders and bloodshed. Such meetings were held by members of the bureau of the obkom also in Ochamchirskiy rayon where the situation is especially complex. Everywhere at present people are discussing the interview with the

procurator of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, Razmadze, published in the oblast newspapers. Regardless of nationality and office, he stated, all those guilty of the tragic events in Sukhumi will be held criminally liable. [passage omitted]

Weapons Seized; Trains Disrupted

PM2807105989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Vl. Arsenyev: "On the Path to Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Sukhumi-Tbilisi—On the morning of 27 July, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs temporary press center in Abkhazia announced to journalists that in the previous 24 hours, 218 firearms had been seized, including 133 rifles, 1 machinegun, 75 dummy assault rifles, and 57 rifles. Some 47 people were arrested for breaching the special nighttime conduct regulations. On the night of 26-27 July, a patrol was attacked. There were no casualties among the servicemen.

In Sukhumi, 110 of the 240 buses were operating, along with 18 of the 27 trolleybuses, and 198 of the 450 taxicabs. Some 28 trains left Sukhumi station...

What is difficult about the current situation is the fact that certain members of the Georgian and Abkhazian intelligentsia have thus far been unable to find a common language. There are no grounds for believing that they are not sincere in their concern for the interests of their peoples. But some of their statements—I talked with members of the Abkhazian "Aidgylar" ("Unity") people's forum and listened to members of the Georgian People's Front—postpone the day when Abkhazians and Georgians will be able to go quietly about their business—working, studying, bringing up children.

But people are tired of the endless deciphering of relationships and disputes. On 26 July, people of all ages and professions from all over the autonomous republic assembled in the Sukhumi Teachers' Center to find a way out of the situation for themselves.

I was handed an appeal adopted at a meeting of the villagers of Odishi, Sukhumskiy Rayon, to party, soviet, and public organizations and all inhabitants of the autonomous republic. It says: "War and labor veterans, workers and peasants, mothers and sisters, our intelligentsia, Communists and nonparty people, believers and atheists: We appeal to your wisdom, intelligence, charity, honesty, and toleration. Let us do all we can to stop the bloodshed between our fraternal people forever and let us restore real trust. Let us bring back creative labor and make our children joyful again..."

Azerbaijani Conference Discusses Unemployment

LD0607054589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] At a conference held in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, a new jobs program was discussed. It was elaborated in connection with the fact that one of the more acute problems in the republic is the surplus of labor resources. At the moment, about 3,000 of the working population are not engaged in socially beneficial activity. The situation is the result of errors made in the past in the development and deployment of productive forces, and the ignoring of particular demographic factors. It is especially bad in rural areas, where more than half of the unemployed population is concentrated. A large influx of migrants has complicated the problem.

Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party spoke at the conference.

Tajiks, Kirghizians Clash Over Land, Water Rights

LD3107171589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A curfew is in force in three village soviets in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The curfew was introduced on 13 July after an interethnic conflict between inhabitants of Isfarinskiy Rayon in Tajikistan and Batkenskiy Rayon in Kirghizia.

[Correspondent M. Nikulin, identified by caption] For many decades, Tajiks and Kirghizians have lived in this abundant valley of the (Isfarinka) River. They lived in peace and friendship, created joint families, and studied each other's language, culture, and traditions. For many years, no problems arose at all, and no one paid attention to who was building where, on Tajik or Kirghiz territory.

Things have come to a curious point today. In Oktyabr village, for example, Tajik and Kirghiz families live in practically the same courtyard, and in administrative terms, come under two different republics. As a result of a sharp increase in the population in recent decades, problems connected with the lack of land, water, and jobs began to arise. The reason for the discord was this small channel, the (Machai), built in 1932 by both Tajiks and Kirghizians. As a result, people were killed, injured, and houses of members of the law enforcement bodies of Tajikistan were set on fire. [Video shows damaged houses, militia in the streets].

By a decree of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a curfew was introduced on the territory of three village soviets. It affects only inhabitants of Tajik nationality and is not being extended to Kirghizians. The government of Kirghizia did not introduce a curfew.

A commission has started to work in Isfarinskiy Rayon and Batkenskiy Rayon, and it is faced with the difficult task of accurately establishing borders and defining rights for the use of land and water in the disputed sector. At the same time, a Tajik SSR government commission is seeking ways to resolve the problem of finding jobs for the village inhabitants. In the near future, branches of some of the major enterprises of the republic will open here, and albeit belatedly, will remove this important question. [Video shows empty streets; stationary vehicles; then a crowd of people, one with a bandaged head; in their midst Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee can be seen speaking to people as he walks along]

Vorkuta Coal Miners Threaten Renewed Strike
LD3107170489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] According to reports from Vorkuta in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the city workers' committee sent a statute, program, and other important documents to the USSR Supreme Soviet for approval. Also involved is the approval of the provision on the committee's members, their status, and the passing of the corresponding mandates.

The committee is supported by most miners. Today it held another consultative conference with the leaders of the city party committee, the city executive committee, and the Vorkuta coal production association on current problems.

Today the mines were operating and shipment of coal was taking place. However, according to (Viktor Alexeyevich Tareyev), chairman of the workers' committee, the situation remains complex and contradictory, and in individual cases it carries the threat of a new strike. Most miners believe that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's government are displaying sluggishness in resolving the issues laid out in the miners' list of demands. In its discussions with workers, the committee discovered that the miners are largely insisting that the economic demands be met, and specifically that the privileges accorded to workers in the north should be restored to the framework of the March 1960 decree.

Correction to Report on Strike in Kemerovo
LD3107164889

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Work Resumes in Kemerovo 20 Jul" published in the 21 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 43:

first column, last paragraph, eighteenth line: ...is allocating some R70 million. The State... (correcting figure)

Wage Scale Fears Spark Steel Workers Strike
PM2807133189 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 3

[TASS correspondents N. Zagnoyko and S. Morozov report: "Cost of Wage Riddle"]

[Text] Lipetsk-Moscow—When the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy gave the new wage scales old names, no one thought that this might provoke the threat of a strike.

But the mess that arose in this connection created a conflict situation at the Novolipetsk metallurgical combine.

At the beginning of July the second oxygen-converter workshop stated its intention to stop work. The first workshop has now officially notified the administration of the strike scheduled for 28 July.

What is happening? What is the point here?

Prior to the transition to new wage rates for metallurgists working in particularly difficult and harmful conditions, there were two wage scales—Ferrous Metallurgy 1 and Ferrous Metallurgy 2. With the introduction of the new conditions of remuneration three new scales were compiled. They were called precisely Ferrous Metallurgy 1, Ferrous Metallurgy 2, and Ferrous Metallurgy 3 out of bureaucratic tradition.

A misunderstanding arose at the Novolipetsk combine owing to this. Workers were accustomed to the Ferrous Metallurgy 2 rates being lower than the Ferrous Metallurgy 1 rates. They suddenly found out that they were being switched from Ferrous Metallurgy 1 to Ferrous Metallurgy 2. But they had still not understood that the new Ferrous Metallurgy 2 rates were even higher. Quite unfounded misgivings emerged that the transition to the new rates would affect pensions and other privileges.

"We have already answered all these questions on several occasions," S. Kolpakov, USSR minister of metallurgy, said, commenting on the situation. "Along with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions we have confirmed the stability of pensions and other privileges, which are in no way connected with the introduction of the new wage rates. Incidentally, a metallurgist's wages are now sufficient—even on the lowest scale—to obtain the maximum possible pension. The date for a metallurgist's retirement on pension is determined only by his specialism and is not dependent on his wage scale. Thus, in our view, the Novolipetsk metallurgists are putting up a fight when there is no need. The reason for this is lack of explanatory work at the enterprise."

Of course, the administration and the combine's trade union committee can be reproached for the fact that matters have gone so far. But why must workers guess at such ministerial riddles?

Situation in Novyy Uzen 'Normal' 17 Jul

LD1707195489 Moscow TASS in English
1439 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Alma Ata July 17 TASS—Life in Novyy Uzen, Soviet Kazakhstan, is in its normal rhythm although the curfew is still in effect. All factories and plants are operating. About 50,000 tons of oil were produced over and above the plan in the republic's fields.

Clashes between Kazakhs and Transcaucasians living there erupted in Novyy Uzen on June 17-20. But TASS was told at the press centre of the Kazakh Interior Ministry, operating here, that those people's exit from the city has already stopped. All in all, the number of people who wished to leave forever Novyy Uzen, whose population is almost 60,000, has reached 435. The local authorities are conducting a permanent dialogue with the residents of the city.

During the talks it is pointed out that the unrest is largely explained by social problems that have been piling up here for years: people experience the shortage of housing, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, food supply has been erratic.

Residents of the city are now discussing a master plan for the development of Novyy Uzen in the period ending in 1995. It was drawn up by Alma Ata architects. People living in Novyy Uzen introduced drastic changes in the project.

The plan attaches priority to the development of the social infrastructure of the city and the settlements surrounding it: the consutruction of housing, cultural and public health institutions. The government of Kazakhstan allotted two million roubles in loans for individual construction to citizens.

Curfew Ends 24 Jul

PM2807075189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 89 Second Edition p6

[Own correspondent D. Gutenev report: "Situation Calm"]

[Text] Novyy Uzen, Guryev Oblast, 25 Jul—The curfew here was lifted yesterday in accordance with a Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. The internal forces and reinforced militia subunits have been withdrawn from the city. True, Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) school cadets are remaining at present.

According to R. Cherdabayev, first secretary of the Novyy Uzen City Party Committee [Gorkom], the situation in the city and in the nearby settlements of Tenga and Staryy Uzen is calm. A city council made up of members of the public is working with the population, and similar groups have been established in every residential area. They are arranging mass political and preventive work, organizing leisure for young people and juveniles, and concerning themselves with public welfare. Industrial and service enterprises have resumed their normal work pace. The city's labor collectives held a subbotnik to put the settlement of Staryy Uzen in good order.

Meanwhile, the flood of people of Caucasian extraction leaving the region is showing no sign of abating. A total of 326 families, or more than 1,700 people, have been removed from the register and left the city. However, at present there is no one to fill the resulting vacancies in production. Cadres from among the indigenous population are not trained. So that there should be no break in oil extraction now or in the future, the Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry has been forced to transfer several dozen highly trained specialists from Tataria, Orenburg, and other regions to work in various units here.

Articles Highlight Ethnic Issues, Problems

PM2707161089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 30, 23 Jul 89 p 10

["Dialogue" feature: "National Question And Perestroika"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] When ten years ago Helene Carrere d'Encausse published her book "L'Empire eclate (La Revolte des nations en URSS)" in which she quite accurately predicted the aggravation of ethnic problems in the Soviet Union, the French Sovietologist's analysis met with the reaction perfectly predictable in the context of our stagnation ideology. Her book was condemned as being viciously anti-Soviet... "L'Empire eclate" was by no means indisputable. The same is true for the article Helene Carrere d'Encausse has written for the Paris edition of "Les Nouvelles de Moscou" which is published below in a slightly abridged form. However, today we can argue with the French scholar honestly without resorting to "rough" propaganda. Especially because she obviously sympathizes with our perestroika. "MN" analyst Vitaliy Tretyakov's commentary follows.

[Helene Carrere d'Encausse article: "To See the Real Danger..."]

Since December 1986 when the people of Alma-Ata revolted against the central government's decision to replace a Kazakh, Kunayev, by a Russian, Kolbin, as Kazakhstan's Party leader, no one has been able to deny that interethnic relations paralyze Mikhail Gorbachev's actions and weigh heavily upon perestroika. To estimate the magnitude of the problem it is necessary, first of all, to list the ethnic clashes that have occurred during the "Gorbachev years". They can be subdivided into three groups.

Violent conflicts. Events in Alma-Ata in 1986; clashes between the Armenians and Azerbaijanians over the issue of Nagornyy Karabakh, which began in February 1988; events in Tbilisi in April, and in Uzbekistan in June 1989.

Some observations:

1. All these clashes involve bloodshed, and cause discontent with respect to central authorities.

2. They are becoming more frequent.

3. With the exception of the Alma-Ata revolt, which was from the start directed against the decision made in Moscow, all others emerged on the basis of interethnic conflicts. Due to the fact that Moscow either failed to resolve them, or used "strong measures" to do so, the clashes acquired all the characteristics of a movement hostile to the central authorities.

4. Events involving violent excesses so far occurred on Islamic lands or involved Muslims.

Political conflicts. The evolution of the Baltic Republics towards renunciation of federalism in its present form (i.e., supremacy of the all-Union law, military service in multinational troops, the uniform anthem and flag), and their desire to achieve the status of a free zone, coupled with the consolidating role of the local popular fronts—all these factors present a political alternative to the manner of national existence established in the USSR in 1924. In this respect the Baltic crisis is the most serious problem facing Soviet power. Developments in the Baltic Republics can pave the way for other Republics, such as the Ukraine, Belorussia and Georgia whose demands to the central authorities are so far confined to the sphere of culture. Obviously, the discussion on cultural issues (i.e., respect for the language, revision of history) going on in the Ukraine and Belorussia is but a temporary substitute for the proper political discussion of a new restructuring of the USSR and the relations between the centre and the provinces.

The Russian crisis. The rise of Russian nationalism (Pamyat being an extremist and so far a less significant form of this movement) is a phenomenon whose importance must not be underestimated. Russians en masse are deeply discontent. They rightly believe that they have paid a high price for the federalism and that by supporting poorer nations they have hindered their own development. They notice the anti-Russian sentiments in the provinces. To quote the Siberian writer Rasputin's recent remark, to save itself, Russia should, perhaps, "secede from the Union"? National bitterness in the Russian nation poses a threat to the future of the Union of all the USSR peoples.

Mikhail Gorbachev took notice of growing national tensions much too late. Impatient to get rid of the "Brezhnevites" and crack down on corruption, he hurt the feelings of the non-Russian nationalities. "Purged" and "reinforced" over the past four years, the Politburo does no longer include representatives of the islamic provinces, the non-Russian nationalities being represented there only by Shcherbitskiy and Shevardnadze, the latter holding the seat as Foreign Minister and not as a spokesman for Georgia.

The anti-corruption campaign revealed painful problems in the southern outskirts of the USSR. The outlying regions are more heavily afflicted then the centre of the country. But insisting upon that, Gorbachev has prompted the Central Asian and Caucasian nations to believe that the struggle against corruption is spearheaded against the national elites.

Today as the USSR peoples strive for greater autonomy, the political decisions promoting centralization may add to the tensions and lead to further clashes. This makes one worry about the future all the more because national differences are a heavy burden on perestroika in all spheres. Political reforms (i.e., democratization and building of a law-governed state) may waver in the atmosphere of frequent disturbances that keep the country in a state of constant suspense, threatening to split the USSR into a zone of democratization and a zone of emergency. What a temptation it must be for the ambitious and the conservative, for all those who have control of the troops and would be glad to respond with force to disorder and liberalism, the later of which to them is synonymous with weakness!

For the sake of perestroika's future it is necessary to give top priority to the national question and go about resolving it quite openly. Perestroika's salvation lies in restructuring ethnic relations. Subject to discussion should be a new form of federal organization, various forms of the national status for people's desiring to take charge of their national destiny (e.g., in the Baltic and Central Asia), and a fairer distribution of authority between Moscow and the outlying regions.

If the Soviets elected by the public take over real power from the Communist Party they will be truly able to represent the interests of their nations and appease discontent. True democratization is able to reduce ethnic tensions, but today the latter are slowing down democratization. The most urgent task facing Gorbachev is to restructure ethnic relations so as to save the cause he has initiated.

[Vitaliy Tretyakov reply: "...But Not To Exaggerate It"]

On July 1, when the material for this page was ready for press, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the Soviet people on television. He said, in particular: "We are talking of separate zones of interethnic clashes at the moment. But if we do not recognize the great danger of these phenomena before they spread, we might be in for worse times." In light of this statement our dialogue has acquired special relevance.

In her analysis of interethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union, Helene Carrere d'Encausse grasped many significant details and analyzed them in principled and sober-minded way still lacking here even under the present conditions of openness. The French scholar is anxious lest the lack of

positive and radical action on the part of the central authorities to revolve interethnic conflicts might prove a serious danger to the prospects for perestroika.

There is one small detail which is being ignored, and which is in fact the essence of perestroika in the field of interethnic relations: today, it is not only Moscow that should resolve the problems arising in relations among different ethnic communities, but primarily those who have claims against one another. They should settle their conflicts themselves and through negotiations. This is what the new way of thinking is all about. And new thinking must be promoted inside the country as much as abroad.

Of course, given the freedom to seek solutions one might not be able to find optimal solutions at once. Today necessary experience, theoretical and practical courage, and trust in the people, including the different ethnic minorities, are lacking both at the centre and in the national Republics. However, waiting for the centre to undo all the knots, to resolve all the conflicts by decisions emanating from the Kremlin is unrealistic. And time is running short. The National movements in the USSR seem to be reaching maturity fast—in the spirit of the new thinking.

The Islamic factor in the interethnic problems of the USSR has been little studied. I won't claim that its role is central. In my mind, what we refer to as the Islamic factor has not so much to do with the religious traditions but with the experience of Stalinist socialism, which for all soviet Central Asian Republics turned out to be a particularly vicious combination of feudal and barrack socialism.

The paradox of the Brezhnev system of management consisted in the fact that the national Republics only seemed to be managed from the centre. In reality they dispatched to Moscow the reports and promises the centre desired, while real power belonged to neither Moscow, nor the people populated the Republic, but to the bureaucratic national elite, whose position has been endangered by perestroika. How can the struggle against this bureaucracy offend the people who used to be controlled by it? Especially now that the power of this bureaucracy has been undermined in favour of national democracy? As for the "non-Russian" corruption being unable to survive without the "Russian" one, that's a different matter.

And now to the national representation in the Politburo. Indeed, under Stalin the Politburo included more nationalities, but could it be called democratic for that reason: It is common knowledge that the Soviet-Russian dictator was Georgian, yet the Georgains suffered from his dictatorship more than any other nation. Brezhnev's methods, however democratic they might have seemed with the minutely calculated representation of each nation in the highest bodies of authority, have become obsolete. Does Helene Carrere d'Encausse really propose to return to that "arithmetic"?

The new electoral system embracing deputies from public organizations has had the effect of strengthening the "Russian element" among the peoples' deputies, but not in the USSR Supreme Soviet or its Chambers, where the representation quotas for different nationalities have remained unchanged.

I'm not very clear why the French scholar has paid such great attention to the writer Valentin Rasputin's remark about "saving Russia" by secession from the Union. This remark was a polemical exaggeration which attempted to demonstrate the absurdity of the centrifugal tendencies characteristic of certain national movements both in Russia and other Union Replics. I must say the attempt was not a very fortunate one, because it betrays either slyness (for the proposition is utterly false) or lack of understanding which I find hard to associate with this particular author's name.

This country's political leadership has declared clearly and unambiguously that the present form of federalism based on the Stalinist model established in 1922-1924 is federalism in name alone. The Soviet Constitution grants each Union Republic the right to self-determination including the right to secede from the Union. While under Stalin and Brezhnev these Constitutional provisions remained empty words, today we can't just arbitarily stop their realization. And so the nationalities policy of perestroika must inevitably be understood as follows: the provisions of the Constition are sacred, so the new federalism must embrace a Union that is "unshakable" not by virtue of central diktat, but because of the Union Republics' mutual interests. Perestroika is meant to create such a system of relations among the Union Republics under which interethnic conflicts will be settled according to the principle: "Stay for the sake of salvation", rather than "secede to be saved".

I don't agree with Helene Carrere d'Encausse in that the "Baltic crisis" poses the most serious problem for Soviet power. In my opinion, it is most constructive precisely because it shows the direction in which the new model of the Union should develop. The Baltic Republics are not forcing their socio-political or economic model on other members of the Union. All they want is to be free to realize this model on their own territory. this is perfectly in line with the strategy of perestroika, because each Republic will determine its own path in economic as well as all other reforms.

Anyway, let's not exaggerate the Soviet Union's nationalities problems. None of the states, including the ones traditionally referred to as "civilized" (e.g., the UK, Canada, the USA, West Germany, Switzerland, France, etc.), is totally free from such problems. The situation in this country is complicated, but the flywheel of the Stalinist nationalities policy has been slowed down considerably, and the motor of the new nationalities policy is running even faster.

Further Reported on 2-Day Komsomol Plenum

Official Delivers Report

LD2807200889 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—The need for drastic changes in the Young Communist League (YCL—Komsomol), prospects for the youth union's activity and political platforms on which it will cooperate with party, state and public organisations are the topics on the agenda of the eighth plenary meeting of the Komsomol Central Committee opened in Moscow today.

Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum.

The plenum today discussed four drafts of the YCL program and three drafts of the YCL rules. All of the drafts emphasize that the Komsomol does not strive and cannot be the sole exponent of young people's diverse interests and is ready to cooperate with all youth organizations of the USSR in the spirit of socialist pluralism.

Several participants in the plenum voiced support for the proposal to form Russia's Komsomol organisation and convene an all-Russia Komsomol conference.

Vadim Medvedev, a Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Georgiy Razumovsky, alternate Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, took part in the plenum.

The plenum will continue its work tomorrow.

Agenda Outlined

LD2807093389 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League (known as Komsomol), the largest Soviet youth organisation set up in 1918 and numbering 36 million, began its deliberations in Moscow today. Its agenda includes the following items: Position of the league in Soviet society, activities of the Bureau and Secretariat of the League's Central Committee after its 20th congress, the calling of the 21st congress and organisational questions.

Perestroika launched in the country in April 1985 also prompted truly revolutionary changes among young people. They were necessary, since bureaucratic methods in youth alliance had developed in the years of stagnation. As a result, the league's prestige among young people was damaged. Criticism is now increasingly voiced that Komsomol is in a pre-crisis state. A congress of the Lithuanian Young Communist League last June decided to reject a resolution of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Young Communist League adopted on October 18, 1940. Under the resolution, the Youth League of that Baltic republic had been incorporated into the All-Union Young Communist League. The June congress decided to restore the Young Communist League of Lithuania as an independent public organisation.

At the same time things unmatched in Komsomol's history started happening in the recent past. The League elected 75 representatives to the Soviet parliament last March. Last June a Committee for Youth Affairs was set up at the USSR Supreme Soviet for the first time. One of its main tasks will be to enact a bill on youth which will regulate relations between the state and the young generation.

The plenum of the League's Central Committee will last for two days.

Politburo's Zaykov Reports to Moscow Party Plenum

PM1007093789 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed version of "Report by L.N. Zaykov," member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, at 21 June plenum of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, under general heading "Advancing Restructuring by Relying on Political Methods of Leadership"]

[Text] Comrades!

The people and the party are now living through one of the most significant and crucial periods in their history.

It is 4 years since the Central Committee April plenum, when the party firmly and unambiguously said for the first time that it was impossible to carry on living in the same way, when the Central Committee put forward the idea of the need to resolutely restructure all aspects of social life, to renew the image of socialism, and to revive Lenin's concept of socialism.

We simply had no other alternative, nor do we have one now. The people supported the party's line of restructuring of society's political, economic, and spiritual structures.

The 27th CPSU Congress program directives and the decisions made by a series of Central Committee plenums laid a firm foundation for restructuring. The 19th party conference fine-tuned the principled political line of attaining a qualitatively new state of society, of radically reforming the political system, of restoring genuine people's power.

Broad glasnost, availability of the most diverse information, pluralism of opinions, and a resolute turn in the direction of socialist democracy have become inalienable features of our life.

People today are seeking their own profoundly individual perceptions of the processes under way, openly criticizing institutions and leaders regardless of their official standing and past services. For the first time in many decades, the people feel that they are masters of their lives and demand that their opinion be taken into account.

This was fully manifested at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies which, without any doubt, can be classed as one of the major events in the Soviet state's history.

The congress brought us to a new stage in the development of democracy and glasnost, of restructuring itself. Its atmosphere was distinguished by a broad spectrum of views on the processes occurring within society, on society's past, present, and future.

The congress demonstrated the major potential of our social system. Its entire work offered convincing proof that the elaboration of coordinated solutions determining the future of the country and of all our peoples is possible within the framework of the Soviet political system, along the paths of democratization and glasnost, on the basis of comparison of different points of view.

Extraordinary people gathered together in the Kremlin, people who at times adopted opposite stances but who, in the majority, were united by an ardent desire to lead the country out of dislocation.

The fact that the vast majority of deputies voted to elect M.S. Gorbachev chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is not only a recognition of the undoubted merits of the leader of the party and the state and of his personal prestige, but also a recognition of the CPSU's leading role in restructuring.

The Basic Guidelines of the State's Domestic and Foreign Policy outlined by Comrade Gorbachev and the government program presented by Comrade Ryzhkov won unanimous support from the deputies, even though the discussion of the reports produced clashes of different stances and a plethora of proposals.

The congress produced an objective discussion of fundamental problems of economic reform like the diversity of forms of economic management and ownership, the creation of a socialist market, improvement of the health of the country's financial position, and agrarian policy at the present stage.

There was well-founded deliberation on questions concerning the need to improve legislative work in the interest of socioeconomic and political transformations.

Deputies acutely felt the problems of interethnic relations. The speeches raised questions of mutual ties between the center and the republics, which are of fundamental importance for our federation.

The debates produced a sharp discussion of the problems of law and order and the strengthening of discipline at all levels.

The draft congress resolution formulates specific instructions to the Supreme Soviet and the future USSR Council of Ministers.

The political and economic programs presented to the congress are consistently geared to the economy's social reorientation.

We cannot, of course, expect instantaneous changes in all spheres of life, as some deputies promised while campaigning for the voters' support.

Society can only live according to the means earned through its labor. A current affairs writer correctly remarked: "Abundance cannot be delivered like beads to the natives; any system must be patiently built by the people themselves."

The dominant stance at the congress was: The solution to our life's problems must be sought within the framework of our own system, along the paths of democratization and glasnost.

At the same time, however, an imperative need emerged for more intensive intellectual activity in the elaboration of a scientific concept of socialism and of restructuring as an important stage in its development.

The congress displayed the variety of deputies' approaches to society's problems. Some of them noticeably strove to replace constructive work by the elaboration of sundry special "platforms" based on unrealistic promises. This stance failed to win support from the bulk of the congress and the people who, thanks to live radio and television coverage, were in essence direct participants in the sittings.

The overwhelming majority of deputies firmly rejected the attempts to discredit the Soviet Army and law enforcement organs which guard Soviet people's creative labor and international security.

Restructuring has entered what is almost its most complex period. The process of renewing the socioeconomic sphere is advancing with difficulty. Some people are panicking at the sight of real changes in the sociopolitical situation, of the changes occurring in the economic mechanism. Many people cannot keep pace with them, and believe that the high speed now achieved will produce dangerous anomalies both in the economy and in the sphere of social relations.

Yes, comrades, restructuring is a labor-intensive and time-consuming affair. However, both rushing ahead and applying the brakes to the restructuring processes are equally dangerous. This is why the party offered society an energetic and at the same time considered and

realistic policy, inviting all the country's intellectual forces to participate in its enrichment and—this is the main point—in its active implementation. This approach was welcomed with approval by USSR people's deputies and won the support of the country's working people.

It is especially important—and this is demonstrated at meetings between people's deputies and labor collectives—that Moscow's working class declares: "We are gratified by the results of the congress at this stage of the country's development!"

The overwhelming majority at the congress took a stance against attacks at the party and the attempts to denigrate or discredit its role in society.

Even though criticisms of the party were also heard at the congress, one thing is clear: The party is serving the people, it is responsible for policy, and therefore it cannot be beyond the people's criticism and appraisal.

The progress and the results of restructuring should prove the party's ability to continue performing the role of society's political vanguard and should attest Soviet people's opinion of the CPSU.

The congress confirmed the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum conclusion that the party at times lags behind the processes occurring within society. This demands of Communists and party committees that they immediately correct their activity.

If we wish to continue performing the mission of a political vanguard—and society does need such a vanguard force—we Communists and our party must restructure ourselves faster than society as a whole.

I.

Today's plenum of the Moscow City CPSU Committee [gorkom] is actually meant to determine ways for solving this task.

We need a serious analysis of the entire party political work and its decisive restructuring in conformity with the demands of the time. Simply holding on to power is one thing, but working in society in the conditions of broad politicization of the masses and democratization of social life is something else. People are today involved in everything.

Yes, this does disrupt the smooth flow of life, it does introduce numerous inconveniences in work, including the party apparatus' work, but there is no need to class as extremists all who are showing a certain restlessness today.

No, the party has not lost its prestige among the people, but today it is necessary to affirm this prestige by means of specific action in people's interests.

Last January, the 27th city party conference elaborated a specific program for action along all avenues of our work.

But the restructuring processes in the city, just as in the country as a whole, are developing in such a headlong fashion that it is necessary to constantly amend activity in line with the prevailing situation.

We must bear in mind that the sociopolitical situation in the city is rendered considerably more complex by serious difficulties in the economy. Shortages, inflation, and price rises have all become chronic. The work of municipal services, of health care services, and of trade and consumer service enterprises, the deterioration in ecological conditions, and the sharp rise in crime all provoke numerous complaints from Muscovites.

Negative phenomena in the socioeconomic sphere are partly the result of defects in the laws and normative acts that regulate the country's economic life but do not take into account the specific features of the transition period. So far the new economic management mechanism has not created economic conditions to encourage labor collectives to boost output and enhance product quality. Such appraisals were heard at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Muscovites evaluate the progress of restructuring not by the quantity and correctness of words uttered and promises made but by actual improvement of the situation in the city, and they usually hold the party and its elected organs responsible for all unresolved questions.

This was especially noticeable during the elections of USSR people's deputies, with voters often giving their preference not to candidates who put forward constructive programs but to those among them who had built their election campaign platforms on criticism of party and soviet organs.

The elections revealed inconsistency and indecisiveness, especially in the political evaluation of negative trends. An attitude of caution toward Muscovites' initiatives and the prohibition syndrome prevailed.

Many forms of party work proved to be out of touch with people and not geared to their interests and needs. We felt the effect of excessive centralization in party leadership, which has made our cadres unaccustomed to analyzing the situation, making independent decisions, and taking non-standard actions.

It must be self-critically noted that the city party organization as a whole failed to define clear-cut action tactics on the eve of the elections.

Not only did we fail to rally the aktiv of mass public organizations around the CPSU election program, but we even failed to properly galvanize the members of city

and rayon party organizations' elected organs. Our propaganda cadres, brought up in conditions of ideological euphoria, also displayed their inconsistency. Briefly speaking, a certain crisis emerged in the forms and methods of party committees' activity.

We have already said on several occasions that party, political, and soviet work must get out of the offices and move into the thick of the masses. It is necessary to approach people even more boldly, to explain our policy to them, and to rouse them in fulfillment of the set tasks.

The renewal processes often develop more slowly than is needed because we lack the habits of working in the new sociopolitical conditions. In the same old way, we limit ourselves only to issuing directives instead of teaching people to act in the new fashion, and we ourselves do not learn how to work in conditions of democratization, at times we do not listen to people, we converse with them without producing intelligible and convincing forms of propagandizing the party line. And this is precisely what is required by the political methods of leadership toward which we are shifting.

And one more point: Monitoring the fulfillment of adopted decisions is the basis of all work. Everything that has been promised must be done. There must be personal responsibility for execution, and results must be publicized.

The people want to know not only who produced various resolutions but also who specifically is to execute them, who should be taken to task. It was no accident that this question was sharply raised also at the congress.

I think that, at long last, this must become the rule in our work.

II.

Our plenum represents an important stage in the elaboration of the strategy and tactics for the city party organization's activity in the immediate future.

There is no doubt that a collective consultation between members of the party gorkom and the control and auditing commission will help in elaborating effective ways to solve the main task of the capital's party organs and organizations—to head the process of boosting the social activeness of the city's residents, to consolidate creative principles in the interests of restructuring.

In our view, the quest for new approaches ought to be conducted along the following main avenues.

In the sphere of the city's socioeconomic development:

At a time when it is difficult to expect a swift solution to all problems, it is necessary to define priorities which would, to a certain extent, make Muscovites' life easier and affirm our ability to tackle realistic tasks.

This must be the aim of the Moscow City party organization's political and organizational work, and a separation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs must be achieved in reality.

One such priority must be the implementation of the "Progress-95" program, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

In the sphere of political, organizational, and ideological work:

Measures must be taken without any delay to unfetter the activity of rayon party committees [raykom] and primary party organizations, and conditions must be created to achieve their autonomy and openness to criticism within the framework of democratic centralism.

In this process, it is necessary to launch a sociopolitical dialogue with diverse categories of working people and the population and with unsponsored social formations on any problems, even the most acute.

Society's revolutionary renewal is unimaginable without strict and conscientious discipline, primarily among Communists. Democracy cannot be based on the shaky and marshy soil of slackness and total license.

During the complex transition period, while the administrative edict system is being dismantled, no dilution of principles like internal party discipline and democratic centralism must be tolerated. Unless we have firm discipline, we cannot have mature democracy—that is an axiom, an elementary truth of Marxism-Leninism.

The decline of some party organizations' prestige is a major cause of alarm.

Non-party comrades judge the CPSU not only by the decisions and actions of central and local party organs but also by the activity of individual Communists and primarily their comrades at work. Toadyism, careerism, bureaucratism, complacency, and suppression of criticism are absolutely unforgivable today.

Failures on the part of Communists to show the proper activeness and responsibility for their assigned work cannot be tolerated.

In many cases the restructuring of party committees' activity cannot keep up with the fast expansion and deepening of the processes of democratization in society. This became clear when the Moscow CPSU Gorkom bureau recently examined the question "On the Work of the Calculation and Analysis Machines Plant Party Committee in Conditions of Democratization and Glasnost" (Baumanskiy Rayon).

It must be said that both plant director Comrade V.N. Voronov and party committee secretary Comrade V.I. Musin are energetic, capable of progressive thinking, able to work with people. But even leaders like them find it hard when it comes to actually mastering the political methods of work among the masses.

A sociological study specifically revealed that only one-third of that enterprise's workers and employees believe that the party committee provides leadership in restructuring, while one in every three shop organization secretaries or party group organizers remarked that the party committee has simply failed to abandon the administrative edict style of leadership.

And yet we are talking about—I repeat—a strong and militant party organization.

We perceive in Moscow a steady trend toward declining admissions to the CPSU ranks and a rising number of people who either have been expelled or have resigned from the party. There is also a steady decline in the number of workers and young people joining the party.

The prevailing situation became the object of comprehensive analysis at a sitting of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Commission for Questions of Party Building. It was noted that these negative trends are the result of the policy of forcibly swelling the party ranks which was pursued for years, of a formalistic approach to the shaping of the party's qualitative composition.

The Moscow City party organization was somewhat ahead of other CPSU detachments when, in the course of its development, it crossed over the dangerous boundary beyond which any further quantitative growth of its ranks inevitably led to qualitative deterioration.

There is, of course, no need to overdramatize the situation. The party, being a normal social organism and independently of its leaders' will, embarked on a self-cleansing of its swollen ranks. In this context we ought to recall that, right back at the dawn of Soviet power, V.I. Lenin was worried because our party was excessively overgrown.

Evidently now we must talk not about swelling but about consolidating the party ranks. A party membership card must not confer any privileges at all.

It is necessary to abandon the useless practice of having party members filling all leadership positions, even the most insignificant.

At the same time, however, there must be rigorous adherence to the requirement that party members share the goals and tasks outlined in its program, that they acknowledge and are undeviatingly guided by the norms of its statutes. We need not just organizational unity, but above all ideological unity in the party.

In this context, how can we fail to recall the impassioned words spoken by non-party member writer Valentin Rasputin at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: "It used to be advantageous to be a party member. That is why the party lost its prestige. Now party membership has become disadvantageous, even dangerous. Resigning from it at this point in time is certainly not a sign of courage, as unsophisticated people are being told; it is a sign of that same calculating approach which formerly brought people to the party."

These words are profoundly meaningful.

III.

There is a need to reinterpret a multitude of questions concerning the theory of party building because, unless these questions are answered, we shall remain doomed to the trial and error method. The Moscow City party organization, with its considerable intellectual potential, must have its weighty say on this matter.

We must involve in this work not only scientists and practicing party workers but also the broad masses of the party aktiv and rank and file Communists. Collective quest will enable us to clear away the alien and dogmatic accretions which have contaminated Lenin's concept of party building, and to prepare the necessary ground for discussion of these questions at the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress.

This is long-term work. But today we can already adopt a series of practical measures to further democratize party life.

A lively debate on this topic has been going on in the press recently. The Moscow newspapers' editorial offices acted correctly by inaugurating special rubrics in preparation for today's party gorkom plenum.

Some comrades express fears that the decentralization of national economic management taking place in the course of economic reform, the demolition of sector barriers, the struggle against departmental monopolism, and the strengthening of regional autonomy could lead to intensification of parochial moods in the party's structural links which, it is claimed, will become increasingly isolated and will be "left to stew in their own juices."

What can be said in this context?

In our view, the principle of democratic centralism implies not just the structural building of some organization or other, but the imparting of political meaning to their activity. Otherwise, in V.I. Lenin's words, "a nonideological organizational structure is nonsensical."

And in any case, comrades, it must be borne in mind that party democracy is not a goal in itself. It is the decisive means for unfettering each Communist's creative potential, developing initiative, and cultivating conscientiousness, boldness, discipline, and organization.

As regards mutual relations between the center and the local party committees, the essence of the restructuring of party work launched by the CPSU Central Committee actually boils down to granting more autonomy to primary party organizations and creating all conditions for the manifestation of their initiative and creativity without worrying about "pointers" from superior organs.

Of course, the gorkom's mutual relations with party raykoms and primary party organizations cannot but change in this context. The time has finally come to abandon the stereotype whereby a higher-ranking party organ is perceived as some sort of all-pervading prohibitive body.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that, in parallel with the problem of prohibitions, we are still facing another equally topical problem, which I would describe as the problem of "unclaimed rights."

Numerous restrictions were lifted a long time ago as regards the party committees' activity concerning the solution of cadre questions, the shaping of the CPSU's ranks, access to party information, financial activity, the planning of party work, and so on. But the majority of raykoms, just as before, await edicts from above, complain about the absence of guideline instructions, or display a lack of initiative in what would seem to be clear situations.

The "PRAVDA editorial syndrome," with the expectation that everything will be digested and neatly spelled out, is still tenacious of life—even inside the party gorkom.

People still hold on to the view that the higher a leader's position, the better placed he is to deal with all trivial issues in all spheres of life—from ballet to brick production.

These ideas are also confirmed by the writers of many letters received by the gorkom, and excerpts from them have been distributed among you.

As far as many party leaders are concerned, the party's leading role in society has been transformed into a subconscious sense of the incontestability of their correctness and authority. The habit of "laying down the law" rather than persuading an opponent, and the inability to conduct a debate without resorting to overbearing bellowing largely explain the helplessness and confusion of party workers during the election campaign, of which some speakers spoke at the recent CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

One could add to this the fact that to this day, many party committees and primary organizations avoid discussing contentious questions, preferring to restrict themselves within the range of traditional and purely economic problems. And even these problems are resolved from yesterday's positions. This inevitably leads to the decline of their prestige among Muscovites.

Just one figure. Some 40 percent of people polled during a sociological study believe that Communists are not generators of ideas or implacable fighters against negative phenomena.

Are people likely to follow such Communists? I think that the answer is unambiguous: Of course not.

Surely, nowadays we have plenty of points where we could apply efforts to help us demolish persistent stereotypes?

Take the ecology, for example. Surely people would have appreciated it if party raykoms had properly headed the work on ensuring observance of ecological discipline by the city's industry?

And why should party raykom secretaries and labor collective party leaders not head the ecological subbotniks?

And how about the struggle against bureaucratism? If party raykoms were to turn the spotlight on bureaucrats and executive committee philistines, they would earn genuine prestige among the city's residents.

This, by the way, has nothing to do with the so-called struggle against apparatus dominance. An apparatus is always needed, but it must be a new apparatus formation comprising highly educated, competent, and impeccably honest people, dedicated to the people's interests and implacable toward sundry clans and corruption.

And yet we have some zealous harpers who are prepared to class everyone as a bureaucrat, including workers who have been elected members of a party or trade union bureau.

We need purifying criticism and self-criticism as much as we need the air that we breathe. But whereas criticism often goes over the top, as it were, the situation with self-criticism is really bad, even in the party gorkom.

In the course of preparations for this plenum, commission members analyzed the protocols of party meetings and sitting of elected organs in a number of party organizations. What did this analysis reveal?

For example, it cannot be said that Communists at the "Khimavtomatika" Science and Production Association Experimental Design Bureau for Automation (Party

Committee Secretary Comrade S.A. Burob, Babushkinskiy Rayon) keep silent at meetings. For some unknown reason, however, their criticism follows just one direction—against the raykom, the party gorkom, and the ministry.

At the same time, not a single word is said about many of their own problems which can be solved on the spot.

Of course, we do have collectives and party organizations which have created an atmosphere of mutual demandingness, where people openly and keenly speak primarily about ways to mobilize internal resources so as to solve existing problems, even though they boldly criticize higher-ranking organizations for shortcomings in their work. Precisely such an atmosphere has been created at the No 1 state bearings plant (Director Comrade V.B. Nosov, party committee secretary Comrade N.S. Anichkov, Taganskiy Rayon).

In my view, we have all the prerequisites for setting up an All-Union "Podshipnik" [Bearings] concern outside ministry jurisdiction and headed by the No. 1 State Bearings Plant collective, along the lines of the "Kvant" intersector association. There must be utmost support for the line of setting up such autonomous national economic formations.

Meanwhile, the new structures and forms of production organization which have already emerged in the course of the economic reform—like concerns, joint stock companies, state-cooperative and lease enterprises, and others—are developing at an extremely slow pace.

Fresh approaches are also necessary in the party's cadre policy. We must proceed from the main task—the ability to fight for the masses, to rally people.

It is exceptionally important to finally break the tight nomenklatura circle and review the cadre appraisal criteria. It is vitally necessary to seek extraordinary personalities and leaders of restructuring, including among nonparty people. It would be justifiable and permissible to run a reasonable risk here.

It is necessary to stop approaching always the same persons when seeking candidates for leadership positions, to boldly promote young and energetic people even though they may not yet have acquired the necessary habits. Experience comes with time.

Let me repeat, it is not a matter of paper qualifications but a question of a person's stance and his competence.

There are quite a few thinking people who take a sharp view of the essence of present problems. They are also to be found among the representatives of informal movements and societies who have creative leanings. We can actually see this.

I am not talking about loudmouths and demagogues, of whom we also have more than enough and who fear personal responsibility for specific work like the plague. They can do nothing but criticize. I am talking about those whose hearts ache for the future of restructuring, who are driven not by personal ambition and the desire to show off at yet another rally but by the interests of the people, of socialism. This would help to consolidate all strata of society, and mainly to accelerate the restructuring processes.

There are 195 USSR people's deputies living and working in Moscow, and the party gorkom alone has 16 of them as members. They are backed by hundreds of thousands of voters and by leading public organizations. The majority of the Muscovite deputies are Communists. It goes without saying that intellectual potential and their prestige are needed to solve the most acute problems facing the capital. Party committees must work in close contact with the deputies and must give them attention and all-around support.

The broad politicization of the masses has produced a form for manifestation of the population's activeness which is new for us and is expressed in the holding of sundry rallies. This is a natural phenomenon. Unfortunately, however, many rallies prove that their main goal is not debate or polemic offering an opportunity to express diverse views and positions, but a desire to implant among the thousands of assembled people a strictly negative attitude to some decisions by the state power or by individual party and soviet leaders or deputies.

This happens because the rallies are mainly organized by always the same, politicized, informal associations striving to impose their point of view, and this creates a negative attitude among a sizeable proportion of Muscovites. Increasingly persistent demands are made that some other city public organizations should play a more active part in organizing and holding rallies.

Consistency and flexibility in the implementation of an effective cadre policy are largely determined by the standards of party organs' leadership cadres.

The composition of party committee and primary organization secretaries was changed to a considerable extent during the last report and election campaign. One would have thought that the renewed cadre corps of party officials should have adopted a new approach to the solution of practical tasks. But this is unfortunately not happening.

The technocratic approach still predominates in cadre selection, just as in the past. The main emphasis is placed not so much on Communists' ability to collaborate with people, to persuade them, to lead them, to thoroughly investigate social processes, but on their knowledge of specific production matters and their economic and technical literacy.

Hence the unjustifiably steep leaning toward national economic specialists in the selection of party cadres.

Is this not also the reason behind the excessive activeness in solving purely economic questions and the inability to engage in disputes, to address rallies, to uphold the party line?

The situation can be rectified not only by the qualitative selection of new cadres but also by the organization of a system for their retraining. At one of its sittings, the CPSU Gorkom Commission for Questions of Party Building and Improvement of Cadre Work approved a package of measures for the fundamental restructuring of the Moscow Higher Party School's activity. These measures are based on contract relations between the education establishment and party committees, targeted professional training of officials, and rejection of the nomenklatura approach to student selection.

But the main teacher is practice and personal experience, regardless of whether your education was in the humanities or in technical science. No lectures or books can replace knowledge of the processes of social life. This is exactly what we have in mind when we talk about the need to "get out of the trenches" and face up to the turmoil of events and phenomena.

We must self-critically admit that the gorkom offers Communists inadequate information about the situation in the city and in the country, that it provides insufficient guidelines for the party aktiv on acute questions of the party's domestic and foreign policy. Instead of political leadership, we issue quotas for the organization of political and public events.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau resolution "On Amending the Forms and Methods of Party Work Proceeding From the Political Situation in the City," dated 12 April this year, formulated the basic tasks of public dialogue with various categories and social groups of Moscow's residents.

What is the aim of this document? Primarily to ensure that a lively conversation with people, answers to questions raised by Muscovites, and assistance in solving them become the main element in the activity of raykoms, party committees, and all Moscow CPSU Gorkom members.

This approach must take the form of holding regular political briefing events. Their main component must be scheduled meetings of party gorkom and raykom secretaries, members of the Workers' Control Committee Presidium, and leaders of ministries and departments with journalists and members of the ideological aktiv in the press center set up by the party gorkom.

But the bulk of the work must be done in primary party organizations and at places of residence, with involvement by the broad ideological aktiv and specialists.

It must be built on the basis of mandatory consideration of public opinion. Only this will make it possible to objectively evaluate the effectiveness of measures being implemented and to define new topics for dialogue. This could be the way to actively propagandize the main avenues of the "Progress-95" program and to involve people as much as possible in its implementation.

The mass media must take a leading position in the sociopolitical dialogue. There has been no change in our attitude to critical writings in the press. It is our weapon, it is our aide in the struggle against bureaucratism, inertia, and verbiage. The press cannot be blamed for all the evils. All it does is to more or less accurately reflect what is happening in real life.

It is a different matter that the effectiveness of press material has sharply declined in the recent past and that a new term has been adopted in usage—"Vaskism," originating from Krylov's fable: "Vaska listens, but he goes on eating." [Reference to fable about a cat calmly eating a stolen chicken while the cook scolds him; used when someone reasons with an offender instead of firmly dealing with him]

One could, of course, reproach newspaper, television, and radio workers with frequently failing to finish off work they have started. But the party committees' attitude to critical published material essentially defines their attitude to restructuring, glasnost, and democratization. Muscovites often ask: Why is it that specific and sharp criticism in the press or on television is not followed up by specific answers about measures applied against the culprits?

This situation must be urgently remedied.

We must be merciless in getting rid of leaders who try to maintain "zones closed to criticism," disregard criticism against themselves, and keep silent.

It is also necessary to get rid of those who pretend to respond to criticism, make promises, and immediately forget all about them.

There is a pressing need to fundamentally change the practice of work with mass media. Life has convincingly proved the ineffectiveness of muzzling the press. In response to this, some publications are trying to outdo each other in the "sensationalism" and "extraordinariness" of their material, at times promoting highly dubious theses in the guise of pluralism of opinions.

This situation will prevail until such time as we produce our own publications to counter this material. Nowadays, popular publications carry virtually nothing written by Moscow's party workers. And yet they are the ones who today must write profoundly considered and weighty articles on the most diverse problems and for the most diverse publications. Naturally, we are talking about high-quality material on current affairs.

A sizeable proportion of the capital's Communists and population have only a slight idea of the problems—vitally important to all Muscovites—being dealt with by the party gorkom or of its stance on various questions of principle. People wish to know the personal opinion of the city or rayon leader; they want to see it in action.

So, let us agree today that secretaries, members, and candidate members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and CPSU raykoms and members of the city party organization's Control and Auditing Commission should play an active part in the "Good Evening, Moscow!" program. Following the example of rayon soviet of people's deputies executive committees [rayispolkom], leaders of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] and its services must be bolder about engaging in direct dialogue with Muscovites.

The party committees' work with leaders and aktiv members of various unsponsored social clubs must become an important component of the sociopolitical dialogue.

Such a dialogue is already under way in Sevastopolskiy, Taganskiy, and a number of other rayons.

There are planned contacts with Communists working in unsponsored clubs who are today united within the so-called "Interclub Party Group." But these are just tiny shoots of innovation. The work is proceeding only slowly. For example, the establishment of a city party debating club on the base of the Political Enlightenment House has obviously bogged down.

It is necessary to launch on a broad scale the creation of self-management structures at places of residence, the way it is already being done in Baumanskiy, Gagarinskiy, Kirovskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, and other rayons.

Many Communists are raising the question of Communists' dual party accountability—at their places of work and at their places of residence—which, in their view, would promote the organizational consolidation of territorial party organizations and the boosting of their militancy.

We would ask plenum participants to express their opinion on this question.

IV.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that a series of negative phenomena in the capital are the consequence of serious omissions in the management of the city's economy. It must be admitted that the new general plan for the city's management is proving subject to major breakdowns and that economic levers are being assimilated only slowly. Just as before, the Moscow Gorispolkom's services and subdivisions resolve many topical issues by administrative edict methods.

Meanwhile, all the basic economic prerequisites for sharply changing the state of affairs in Moscow's economy have been created. Important resolutions on the entire spectrum of social sphere problems have been adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, and the necessary capital investments have been allocated for this purpose.

Let me remind you of just a few of the most important problems concerning the provision of vital services for the city, to which specific solutions have been found. They are the fulfillment of the housing program, the reconstruction of downtown Moscow, and the consolidation of the material and technical base of health care services.

At the initiative of the Gorkom and the Moscow Gorispolkom, capital investment in new industrial production construction projects will be reduced by more than R2 billion during the 13th 5-Year Plan period, which will make it possible to provide a better balanced solution to the city's social problems. At the same time, there will be a sizable increase in the volume of enterprise reconstruction in virtually all sectors using the own-resources method.

Reconstruction work is under way at Moscow's light industry enterprises (76 out of 108) which are in need of urgent retooling.

Questions of dairy produce supplies for Muscovites will be resolved during the current 5-year plan period, and questions of meat and sausage products supplies will be resolved during the next 5-year plan period.

Active work is being done to organize the uninterrupted flow of fruit and vegetables all the year round.

Specific measures are planned to increase the output of consumer goods by machine building and defense industry enterprises.

It is necessary to single out in particular the importance of the "Progress-95" territorial-sectoral program which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Today we have, to all intents and purposes, an almost fully elaborated plan for economic and social development during the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

I would like to report that a number of specific proposals made at the 27th city party conference have also been implemented.

Specifically, restrictions on wages for working pensioners and foremen have been lifted. It was at our initiative that the Congress of People's Deputies solved this problem for the country as a whole.

The Moscow militia's material and technical base is being consolidated, and the wages of its staffers have been increased.

A program for the renovation and expansion of Moscow's theaters has been adopted.

It has been decided to set up a publishing house for the Moscow writers' organization.

As you can see, we have laid the foundations and made a certain headway for confident advance along all avenues. Now it is a matter of specific work. This is, if you like, the crux of the matter.

We are doing a lot to delineate the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. But no matter what separation of functions is achieved, the party will never rescind its responsibility for the fundamental improvement of the people's life.

Yes, we party officials are criticized for the poor state of street cleanliness even though this is the responsibility of specific municipal services, we are criticized for poor standards in trade, for rising crime, for the lack of goods in daily demand, and for much else besides, even though all these spheres have their own direct executive and monitoring organs.

We realize that this criticism—from the left and from the right alike—had an effect on the results of the campaign for the election of people's deputies. That in turn has shaped the view—even among some members of the party aktiv—that the party is losing its leading role.

No, comrades, the party's leading role is the guarantee of restructuring. That is first.

And second. The party's leading role does not mean that instructions, at times incompetent, should be issued in its name to everyone and for everything; it means enhancing the responsibility of all party organizations and of each individual Communist, no matter what position he holds, for the pursuit of the policy of restructuring, for the strengthening of discipline and organization not only within the party ranks but also within every cell of society.

And if decisions made by the party have been thwarted today, this means that we Communists have retreated and surrendered our positions. This is what the people cannot forgive.

The question is: Why is this happening? Let us recall the graphic style in which one deputy at the congress compared our thinking and our actions with Budennyy's mentality at the start of the Great Patriotic War, when attempts were made to overpower enemy tanks using cavalry. Translated into party language, this means that we are at times trying to implement restructuring by using methods and means from the arsenal of the Stalin-Brezhnev era.

Compulsion instead of persuasion, slogans and orders instead of proof, dogmatism and ideological fundamentalism instead of in-depth study of sociopolitical processes in society.

There are abundant examples of all this.

Look at the problem of supplying the market with consumer goods. Many articles in daily demand are now in short supply, never mind furniture, washing and sewing machines, or color television sets.

We cannot seek consolation in the growing volumes of trade turnover, since rising prices for goods and services, including concealed rises, are one of the sources of this growth.

So, what attempts are being made to solve this problem? Mainly by administrative levers, via the adoption of resolutions by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and the Moscow Gorispolkom, without sufficiently elaborated economic approaches. The Moscow Gorispolkom has set up a special Main Administration for the Coordination of National Economic Sectors and the Production of Consumer Goods. But even this organ still operates as a transmission link between the State Planning Committee and the enterprises, struggling—actually under pressure from the party gorkom—to ensure the fulfillment of supplementary targets.

At the same time, there are many untapped reserves to reduce the gap between money in the population's hands and the goods to be bought with it. All that needs to be done is to seek means.

It would be apt to ask: Why is it that the Moscow Gorispolkom organized the sale of apartments in private ownership by the population only after repeated reminders? Why is it that this work is virtually nonexistent at enterprises?

Is it impossible, for example, for a labor collective council to suggest that it buys from a rayispolkom an apartment block due for capital repairs, to repair and renovate it using its own funds, and then to sell the apartments to its working people?

Enterprises are clearly inadequately involved in measures to supplement local budgets like the sale of means of transportation by auction, the issue of shares, and foreign trade deals, which are now developing in the country.

All that is needed is to think, to seek, and to find a way out of the situation. And yet, many of our leaders still adopt what is at best a wait-and-see attitude, and some of them have even developed a negation complex—the ink on adopted decisions is not given a chance to dry before revision work on them begins.

Of course, according to Marx, everything ought to be subject to doubt. But this must be done while the document is in the process of being prepared.

It would appear that the reconstruction of light industry enterprises is dictated by life itself. But the work has come to a standstill, and there are proposals to move light industry enterprises outside Moscow altogether instead of reconstructing them.

Of course, we all are in favor of Moscow's having as few enterprises as possible operating with heavy manual labor and obsolete technology.

But taking the path of totally eliminating industry in the city, especially light and food industry, is—to say the least—utopian. Matters ought to be perceived realistically.

The city must feed and clothe itself, it must earn funds for the development of the social sphere, especially in view of the transition to regional economic accountability. We are in a transition period, and all the social sphere problems cannot be resolved overnight.

But we should not be always late, either, we should not be "bringing up the rear," as it were. We can feel the effect of the shortage of analytical work and of forecasts of the development of events, especially in the party gorkom and raykom departments.

Take a look at the state of affairs in public order. It is a matter of growing concern for Muscovites.

At the same time, reliance on the mass of working people has clearly diminished in the struggle against lawbreaking. The numerical strength of people's detachments has fallen and there has been a sharp decline in the efficiency of their activity. The setting up of workers' detachments for the maintenance of public order in the capital is dragging on.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that there has been a significant relaxation of the struggle against the social evil of drunkenness.

There is a buildup of the alarming processes of devaluation of young people's moral values. In parallel with manifestations of extremism of different hues, there are also widespread social passiveness, political apathy, nihilism, and total license.

The lack of spirituality is corroding young souls. And even though internationalist soldiers have voluntarily taken on a tremendous burden as regards the upbringing of difficult adolescents, juvenile delinquency is on the rise in the country.

While the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] has gotten carried away with questions of the league's organizational building and with commercial ventures, growing numbers of young men and women are left to their own devices, and many of them are adherents of dubious ideas. The adolescents are swallowed up by street life, idling away their time.

The processes occurring among students are far from simple. The future specialists, leaders, and educators of collectives are trying to work out for themselves the grim and tumultuous history of our country and the equally complex processes of the present. They are by no means always successful.

We proudly claim that a vast detachment of masters of culture is at work in Moscow. They make a weighty contribution to the cause of restructuring. It must be clearly perceived, however, that a sizeable proportion of the population remain under the influence of so-called mass culture and are brought up on art substitutes. Here there is a vast field for activity by creative unions, whose leadership organs are also located in our city.

We need a comprehensive program for the development of culture, the improvement of the spiritual and moral atmosphere in the city, and the organization of healthy leisure activities.

There can be no morality in society without culture, and economic and social laws cannot operate without morality. How much wisdom is contained in this laconic formula expressed at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies by Academician D.S. Likhachev.

The transfer to political methods of leadership presumes, first and foremost, profound renewal of the forms of ideological work. And the struggle for the younger generation's minds emerges paramount here. If we win, it means that restructuring will emerge victorious.

We know well Lenin's idea that "a revolution is worth something only when it is capable of defending itself."

Restructuring is also a revolution. It also needs to be defended. To be defended organizationally, ideologically, and morally; it does not accept the suppression of dissidence. Progress within society is possible only in a struggle between different opinions. And if we Communists are convinced of our correctness, we must be able to uphold and prove it. Only then will the party manage to win genuine prestige among the masses.

V.

Summing up the numerous proposals received by the party gorkom during the preparations for this plenum, let me single out the city party organization's main tasks for the immediate future.

It is necessary to embark on large-scale preparation for the elections of local soviets of people's deputies when, to all intents and purposes, the question of power at rayon, city, and republic level will be decided.

This means that we need a clear-cut, stage-by-stage action program for the CPSU gorkom and raykoms and primary party organizations, as well as a weighty and attractive election platform for the city party organization.

It is important to coordinate actions with the other public organizations—the trade unions, the Komsomol, the veterans' and women's associations, and the various unsponsored formations and action groups. We must perceive those among them which stand on socialist positions—and they are in the majority—as our allies and not as opponents. We need a policy of broad, constructive dialogue and cooperation.

An improvement of the socioeconomic situation the capital is the main element of the city party organization's prestige and of confidence in its program for the forthcoming elections. In our opinion, the best possible solution to this task lies in regional economic accountability.

This is why, without waiting for the Law on Local Self-Management and the Local Economy to be passed, it is necessary to actively switch to the principles of economic accountability at rayon level, and to the principles of self-management at city microrayon level. This requires serious party support and monitoring.

Resolute measures are needed for the further democratization of intraparty life.

We believe that the growing process of self-cleansing within the party ranks is, on the whole, positive.

In mutual relations with state and economic organs, we must firmly adhere to the line of separation of functions, influencing them not directly but through the Communists working in them.

In this context, it is necessary to consistently enhance the role of soviets of people's deputies in the management of the city's economy, housing construction, trade, and consumer services for the people, and the enhancement of people's social security.

It is necessary to ensure that soviet organs strictly monitor the observance of the Law on the Cooperative Movement and orient that movement toward boosting the production of goods and services for the population.

The intensification of the political and ideological aspect of the activity of party committees and primary organizations means not only a review of priorities in party work or an enhancement of Communists' personal responsibility in the pursuit of the party line, but also certain changes in the cadres corps and further democratization of cadre work.

It is important to ensure that the selection and placement of cadres are done openly everywhere, on a competitive basis, and with active participation by Communists and nonparty people.

It is important, on the one hand, to consolidate the intellectual potential of our committees responsible for the elaboration of realistic solutions in line with current tasks while it is necessary, on the other, to work out different forms of party influence on the activity of the organs of power, management, and the ideological and economic spheres, to organize efficient work by party committees' commissions.

It is incumbent on the party gorkom and raykoms to ensure reliable links with the city's Communists, working people, and residents through the development of glasnost and the availability of information about our activity. It is necessary to participate boldly in debates on all questions which perturb Muscovites. It must become a norm of daily practice for party committees to keep in touch with the editorial offices and journalists of Moscow newspapers, radio, and television. The creative potential of the artistic intelligentsia must be more fully used in ideological work.

Bearing in mind Communists' observations, we deem it necessary to immediately embark on preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and on discussion of the problems which will have to be resolved at the congress.

For this purpose, it is proposed to launch in Moscow a partywide debate on the CPSU's role and position in restructuring as the political vanguard of society, on the ways for further democratization of intraparty relations. We must involve in it not only the city's party aktiv but also secretaries and members of the CPSU Central Committee and party apparatus officials.

We believe that it would be useful if not only Communists but also nonparty people were to participate in this debate.

We assume that it will be necessary for the CPSU Central Committee to immediately embark on the elaboration of the Central Committee's pre-congress platform so that it can be adopted by a Central Committee plenum before the end of this year.

Comrades!

The city party organization has an honorable but also very hard role to play—to rise to the demands of the time and be in the vanguard of restructuring.

We have to take the initiative and work at full speed!

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Party Meeting 26 Jul

LD2607225689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1523 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jul (TASS)—Questions relating to the development of intraparty democracy, the perfecting of mutual relations between party bodies and the soviets of people's deputies, and the improvement of ideological work in the conditions of the restructuring of party work were considered at a meeting held today by the Moscow city CPSU committee [gorkom] and the city's control and auditing commission, and attended by the first secretaries of the capital's rayon party committee [raykoms] and the chairmen of the control and auditing commissions of rayon party organizations.

A speech delivered by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, pointed out that the process of differentiating party functions from those of the local soviets is proceeding with impermissible slowness, and that the raykoms are paying insufficient attention to it. It is necessary to raise the principled demands, which are tough in true party fashion, that are made of Communists who are entrusted with responsible sections of the work.

As the ruling party, he continued, the CPSU is assessed not only through its direct political activities, but also according to how the material life of Muscovites is organized. Only by actively promoting the solution of the acute social and economic problems will the party committees prove their ability to guide perestroka and strengthen the working people's belief in the viability of the plans that are being made.

Being the political vanguard, the Moscow Gorkom leader stressed, means learning to talk to people, to convince them, and to act resolutely. Success during the forthcoming report-back and election campaign within the party and in the elections to local soviets will be ensured only by vigorous and realistic policies, clear prospects, and an alliance with all the forces that have an interest in the fundamental renewal of socialism.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Auditing Body 14 Jul

LD1507051289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first plenum of the Control and Auditing Commission of the Moscow city party organization was held today [14 Jul]. It was set up as an experiment by decision of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Comrade Zaykov spoke at the plenum.

Russian 27 Jul Supreme Soviet Session Reported

Session Summarized

PM2807151589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet Sittings"]

[Text] The 10th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, began in the Great Kremlin Palace at 1000 hours 27 July 1989.

Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.M. Chebrikov, and A.V. Vlasov took part in the work of the session's morning sitting.

Deputy N.M. Gribachev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, chaired.

Deputies and guests stood to honor the memory of Deputies Yu.A. Mysnikov, G.K. Skryabin, D.N. Gagarov, N.D. Tereshchenko, and A.A. Gromyko, who have died.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet heard a report from Deputy L.I. Matveyev, deputy chairman of the Credentials Commission, on the verification of the credentials of a deputy elected since the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's 9th session in place of a former incumbent.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolved to recognize the credentials of Deputy A.P. Pavin.

The agenda and order of the session's work were unanimously approved.

The agenda contains the following items:

1. The tasks of RSFSR soviet and economic organs in increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods in accordance with the guidelines of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

2. Ratification of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

After that the deputies proceeded to an examination of the items on the session's agenda.

The report on the first item on the session's agenda—the tasks of the RSFSR's soviet and economic organs in increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods in accordance with the guidelines of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—was delivered by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The coreport of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions was delivered by Deputy V.P. Kapelko, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Consumer Goods and Services Commission.

After that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proceeded to a discussion of the report and coreport on the first item on the session's agenda. The following deputies spoke in the debates: L.N. Grigoryeva (Severnyy Electoral Okrug, Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) [ASSR]; B.I. Balashov, (Kashirskiy Electoral Okrug, Moscow Oblast); Yu.A. Nozhikov (Bratskiy Electoral Okrug, Irkutsk Oblast); L.D. Romanova (Leninskiy Electoral Okrug, Leningrad City); Yu.K. Abakumov (Taymyrskiy Electoral Okrug, Krasnoyarsk Kray); V.A. Surkin (Kirovskiy Electoral Okrug, Perm Oblast); S.A. Osminin (Kirovo-Chepetskiy Electoral Okrug, Kirov Oblast); G.S. Brevnov (Moskovskiy Electoral Okrug, Gorkiy Oblast); and I.G. Aloyeva (Leninskiy Electoral Okrug, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR).

At 1600 hours the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's second sitting began in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, V.M. Chebrikov, and A.V. Vlasov took part in the work of the session's afternoon sitting.

Deputy N.M. Gribachev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, chaired.

The discussion of the question of the tasks of the RSFSR's soviet and economic organs in increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods in accordance with the guidelines of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies continued. The following deputies spoke in the debates on the report and coreport: A.F. Kalinich (Spasskiy Electoral Okrug, Maritime Kray); A.Ye. Yeremin (Sharinskiy Electoral Okrug, Kostroma Oblast); M.-K.M. Magomedov (Khunzakhskiy Electoral Okrug, Dagestan ASSR); V.Ye. Smirnova (Zavolzhskiy Electoral Okrug, Kalinin Oblast); G.V. Krivyakov (Ordhzhonikidzevskiy Electoral Okrug, Bashkir ASSR); Yu.A. Malinkin (Primorskiy Electoral Okrug, Kaliningrad Oblast); Ye.G. Volozhanina (Tsentralnyy Electoral Okrug, Chita Oblast); S.S. Kurdyukov, (Balakhninskiy Electoral Okrug, Gorkiy Oblast); and M.Sh. Shaymiyev (Kukmorskiy Electoral Okrug, Tatar ASSR).

Vlasov Delivers Report

LD2707123189 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Problems of increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods were raised by Russian Federation Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov at a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet which opened in the Kremlin today.

Having noted that the mounting shortage of consumer goods and services was causing a public outcry, Vlasov pointed to the unbalanced market as the main cause. According to estimates, the minimum unsatisfied requirement for goods stands today at 35-40 billion roubles. The growing disproportion between incomes and goods supplies has stepped up the pressure exerted by this spare money on the consumer market and led to a considerable depletion of stocks.

Vlasov said the production of goods other than foodstuffs should be doubled if this problem is to be solved by 1995. The program of improving the consumer market, elaborated by the Russian Federation Government, involves speeding up the creation of advanced facilities for the production of consumer goods other than foodstuffs. Vlasov attached great importance to the conversion of the defence industry and the republic's transition to cost-acounting and self-financing, whose alternative models can be prepared by mid-1990. To enhance independence and responsibility of enterprises for increasing the output of goods, Vlasov suggested creating [word indistinct] associations and unions.

He pointed to the need for serious efforts to introduce lease- holding as the best way to release initiative and entrepreneurship. having noted some negative tendencies in the development of the cooperative movement in the republic, he said that cooperatives currently accounted for little more than 1 per cent of the total output of consumer goods in Russia. The speaker urged soviet and economic bodies to pay more attention to developing the cooperative movement to bring prices on their products closer to the state price level.

Vlasov called for the build up of the production of goods other than foodstuffs through integration, cooperation and joint ventures. As a positive example, he cited cooperation arrangements between the russian federation's light and textile industries and the enterprises of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Vietnam, India and the Philippines.

After the report the debate began.

Russian Republic Deputies Discuss Election Law

PM2707154789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[S. Karkhanin report under the rubric "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium": "Formula of Confidence"]

[Excerpts] Nobody nowadays is surprised by legislation being criticized, but, apart from specialists, few people know how hard it is to create each new law. The fifth version of a document on the forthcoming elections to local soviets has now been drawn up, but it still needs further work. There is still some time left before August, when it is planned to start a nationwide discussion of the draft law. Maximum use should be made of this time.

What form should the new law take? This was discussed at a meeting of USSR people's deputies representing Russia at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting was chaired by S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. Eminent legal scholars also took part in it. [passage omitted]

The role of Russia in the USSR system.... Not for nothing was this the key problem in the debates at the meeting. It was touched upon by virtually all deputies. Many of the ideas expressed were debatable or more than debatable, but the fact is that people are concerned—and rightly so. At a time when other republics are loudly proclaiming regional economic accountability and seeking ways toward economic sovereignty, this subject is clearly not being sufficiently discussed or developed in the RSFSR. Of course, not everything is simple, but, in the opinion of the people's deputies who stated this in their election programs, we need to take steps to ensure that Russia becomes truly worthy of its glorious name.

"It is not a question of 'saving Russia,' but of building our union of republics," Deputy G.E. Burbulis of Sverdlovsk stressed. "The political reform has clearly taken a new turn. The problem we are discussing should be part and parcel of it."

"I believe that a great deal of what was said here at the meeting will form part of the draft law that is under preparation," S.I. Chistoplyasov noted, winding up the meeting. "We are receiving thousands of proposals and observations from various parts of the republic. Abundant material will probably be obtained during the nationwide discussion of the future law—a discussion which will last around 2 months."

Experts Committee Disapproves Altay Power Station

LD1207113289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 11 July, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a 5 minute video report on the meeting of a commission of experts at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee to decide whether a hydro-electric power station should be built on the river Katun in the mountainous part of the Altay Kray.

Although it is recognized that the Altay Autonomous Oblast does need electricity, exactly how much is required has not yet been decided. The designers of the hydroelectric power station took as their example the province of Manitoba in Canada, where electricity consumption is considerably higher than in the Altay. The Altay is not such a highly developed area as Manitoba, to the extent that a national park could be organized there right now.

The heightened content of mercury in the soil and the river Katun itself does present a problem, although, according to Academician Oleg Vasiliyev of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the mercury content does not threaten anyone. He did not, however, rule out the discovery of a mercury deposit in the flood meadows of the Katun. If this is so then there is no guarantee that mercury will not wash out from the soil in the flooded areas. Besides this, those opposed to the hydroelectric power station from the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences and those from the Ministry of Power Engineering spoke about the threat to the lush cedar forests in the flood meadows of the Katun and the probable disappearance of sturgeon in the river, and other unfavourable consequences if the Katun hydroelectric power station is built.

Telegrams from the Altay read at the meeting testified that the local executive party committees favor the hydroelectric power station, while the public opposes it. In either event, three commissions of experts, from the RSFSR State Planning Committee, the RSFSR Chief State Committee of Experts, and the RSFSR State Committee for Nature, by an overwhelming majority, voted that the project could not be recommended for the consent of the govenrment. [Video shows scenes at meeting and interview with Altay poet]

USSR People's Deputy Opens Rally in Tallinn

PM2607095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Confrontation...Why?"]

[Text] Tallinn—Workers from Tallinn's major enterprises gathered for a rally "In Defense of USSR Citizens' Rights," attended by more than 30,000 people. The rally was opened by People's Deputy V. Yarovoy, chairman of the United Council of Labor Collectives.

"In the last few months," he said, "the political situation in the republic has exacerbated in the extreme. Successive decisions have been taken which flout the rights of the Russian-speaking population. The principle of priority for the indigenous nation has been translated into disregard for the rights of people of other nationalities. We have been further convinced of this by the prepared draft law on elections to the republic's local soviets. The republic's Committee for Labor and the republic's trade union council have, moreover, adopted a resolution whereby any worker who cannot speak the state Estonian language can easily be dismissed without restriction. Although very, very little has been done to enforce the Language Law in the republic...."

The day before the rally the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau expressed a critical opinion of the aforementioned resolution. At present few people are aware of the Central Committee Bureau stance. The document which excited the collectives has itself not

been abrogated. The draft law has not been abrogated. The draft law on immigration, which confirmed the misgivings provoked by old rumors also added to this.

The law on elections to Estonia's local soviets was also discussed in this atmosphere. In the opinion of the participants in the rally, the aim of this law is to prevent the Russian-speaking population being represented in the organs of power. In particular, the new draft law provides for a high residence qualification and restricts the rights of labor collectives.

"What are we to do?" people on the square asked.

M. Lysenko, member of the republic strike committee council, replied as follows.

"If, contrary to our suggestions, the Estonian Supreme Soviet adopts the undemocratic law 24 July, we will be forced to react...."

The anniversary of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic falls 21 July. That is the official date, but in the present situation it is not a holiday for everyone. A considerable proportion of the Estonian population perceived the rally as support for events of 49 years ago, although the rally was timed to coincide with the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet which opens 24 July.

It is easy to get involved in a conflict and very difficult to get out. Are we not becoming hostages of our own suspicion and intolerance?

Further Reported on Latvian Supreme Soviet

Economic Independence Discussed

LD3107150189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 0830 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program; presented by Janis Udris, "Amber Coast" editor]

[Text] Beginning its work, the republic's parliament released Valentina Klibike of the duties of secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, because she has been elected to a responsible position at the USSR Supreme Soviet. It also released Aleksandr Drizulis of the duties of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, due to health reasons. Anatoliy Gorbunov was elected as chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet; he was not released from his duties as chairman of the Presidium. The president, however, is currently in the hospital and was not able to participate in the session, which was chaired by Yan Vagris, Supreme Soviet Presidium member and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. The president is receiving treatment at one of the best hospitals in Moscow. Anatoliy Gorbunov's voice, in telephone conversations with correspondents and heard also in the Amber Coast, is lively, and his mood is business-like.

Imants Daudiss was elected secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. After that, the republic's parliament discussed the draft law on Latvian SSR economic independence. The rapporteur on this was Vilnis Bresis, chairman of the Council of Ministers. He described the difficult economic situation of Latvia, which is to be explained chiefly by the dictate of all-union departments, and described the advantages of republic's economic independence. The head of our government emphasized:

[Begin recording] Until the law on the republic's economic independence has been adopted all the talk about a radical economic reform has no sense. Every one of us understands that without economic sovereignty the republic has no future. And, comrades, we must make use of this opportunity offered by history.

In the present day, people require practical results. The practical result of the work of the republic's Supreme Soviet session is a constructive approach launched in an all-around manner for attaining the republic's economic sovereignty. We are standing today in front of the doors to the future. Let us then open them; let us look with open eyes at the reality; let us walk along the new way of the future. [end recording]

Discussion of Latvia's economic independece in the parliament was all the more important, even dramatic, because exactly on the day of discussion of this draft, in Moscow at the USSR Supreme Soviet session a resolution was adopted on a changeover in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to economic accountability and a resolution on the economic independence of Lithuania and Estonia, but not of Latvia. Yes, our republic's parliament had hesitated in deciding on this question. Now the road of ensuring our economy has become longer. However, the most important step has at last been taken also in Latvia. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the law on the republic's economic independence.

People's Front Chairman Cited

LD3107151989 Riga in Latvian to Europe 0830 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] And once again, we have spent some hot days here in Latvia. The summer is at its highest, but these days were made all the hotter by the political life of Latvia, when the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet at its session was deciding about the sovereignty of Latvia.

The session's process was relayed, by a direct link-up to the Supreme Soviet's hall of meetings, by the Latvian Radio. The television and newspapers carried extensive reports.

Independence of Latvia—such is a consistent demand by the people of Latvia, which was once more demonstrated by more than 15,000 people who had gathered at a meeting organized by the People's Front of Latvia in the Doma Laukums on Wednesday [26 July].

The chairman of the People's Front of Latvia Dome Dainis Ivans said:

[Begin Ivans recording] Not only Estonians and Lithuanians, but also Finland is looking upon our actions tomorrow and the day after tomorrow and the day after that. Becauses essentially the freedom of the people of Latvia also means the freedom of the other peoples living throughout the Baltic, and therefore we are responsible for it. We are responsible for adopting the most important thing, the declaration of independence of the Republic of Latvia. We must change the constitution which restricted us for so long. And we must also determine what will be the next step in restructuring, and whether, as some are now trying to imagine and tell others, we are really endeavoring to apply brakes to this restructuring.

It appears to me that the next step in restructuring, a logical step in the implementation of rights of self-determination of peoples, in the imlementation of democratic human rights, is a forming of independent states in the present territory of the Soviet Union. [applause] [end recording]

Baltic Council Holds First Session 15 Jul

LD1907141589

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in English to North America at 2200 GMT on 17 July broadcasts a report on the first session of the Baltic Council held in Estonia on 15 July. The council is a tripartite commission consisting of five representatives each from the Estonian and Latvian popular fronts and Lithuania's Sajudia. It will meet once a month, successively in each republic.

"High on the agenda was the issue of the army. The communique of the session reads:

"The Baltic council maintains that it is vital to propose to the Supreme Soviets of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to set up in each republic councils to deal with army issues, as well as an interrepublic council. It is equally important that these be public councils, duly representing people's interests. Councils of this kind should discuss and put forward bills regarding the military service in the Soviet Army of the young people from the Baltic states. They should also concern themselves with the formation of national territorial units."

The session also dealt with the anniversary of the Molotov- Ribbentrop pact. To pass decisions on this issue it has been decided to convene sessions of the Estonian and Latvian envoys' council and of the Lithuanian Seimas council on 23 August. On the same evening a human chain will be formed from Talinn via Riga and [placename indistinct] toward Sovetsk, formerly Tilsit. Finns and Poles are expected to join the chain. Council members also exchanged views on a draft law on Lithuanian citizenship.

Nagorno-Karabakh Commission's Work Viewed

Commission Ends Work 27 Jul

PM2807110989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Commission Concludes Its Work"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 27 Jul—The Deputies' Commission on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet on instructions from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and chaired by S.I. Manyakin, ended its work in Nagorno-Karabakh today.

During the commission's work in the NKAO 20-27 July its members visited the oblast center and all of the autonomous oblast's rayons. They had meetings and conversations with members of the party and soviet aktiv, leaders and members of labor collectives from enterprises, organizations, and institutions in various sectors of the national economy, workers in public education, culture, mass media, and law enforcement organs, and servicemen from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops who are serving in the special region. As a rule, these meetings were linked with visits to enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

The commission members met labor collectives from Nagorno-Karabakh's largest enterprises and residents of a number of Armenian and Azeri villages and settlements where tension remains at its highest and there have been conflicts and clashes on interethnic basis. Reception sessions for the population were organized everywhere. In addition to this, there were also meetings and conversations with refugees of both nationalities, war and labor veterans, and representatives of trade union, Communist Youth League, women's, religious, creative, charitable, and other public organizations.

During visits to USSR central organs and to the NKAO Special Administration Committee, mass media offices, and organs for the maintenance of public order in NKAO, the commission's members studied documents, statements, letters, and suggestions by different organizations, labor collectives, and individual citizens, as well as press, radio, and television material on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

The commission's work on the spot was assisted by the NKAO Special Administration Committee, local party and soviet organs, and USSR people's deputies from the NKAO.

The commission's summary of material and proposals will be submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Commission's Visit Described

LD2807203889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Report by correspondent Dmitriy Kiselev, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] [Video shows Kiselev reporting from street in NKAO] The Supreme Soviet Commission has completed its familiarization with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. We will say frankly that these have been difficult days for the commission. [video shows convoy of cars on mountain road] In terms of form, life took place on wheels; the commission was expected everywhere. In terms of content, the main difficulty, the deputies had to approach the situation from a position of the new mentality and had to begin perestroyka in interethnic relations. Of course, one might postpone discussion of the problems but the problems themselves cannot be left to one side. They are a reality. It is also a reality that for decades it was not even acceptable to speak about many problems. They accumulated; our propaganda meanwhile painted ethnic relations only in favorable hues. [video shows town street scenes, mosque].

Today the forces of law and order are acquiring more and more experience, but they are essentially incapable of changing anything. [video shows an official leaving a building with a military escort. Internal troops with riot gear are then shown in street]

What, then, did the commission encounter here? They encountered, first and foremost, mutually exclusive demands of the Azerbaijanians and the Armenians. [video shows commission meetng in a hall with Azerbaijanian people]

[Azerbaijanian woman, speaking at rostrum] The nationalistic forces, when they raise the question of the relation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to the Azerbaijanian Soviet Socialist Republic, are relying primarily on the fact that, allegedly, this land historically belonged to Armenia. The question is long since clear and is not subject to discussion. Nagorno-Karabakh has been and is an inalienable part of Azerbaijan.

[Azerbaijanian man, speaking at rostrum] What talk can there be of discrimination when the (?entire purpose is to get into step with Armenia)?

[Second man, speaking from audience] We are not touching anyone. We have never done anything against anyone: We did not kill anyone or (?injure) anyone.

[Kiselev] Basing themselves upon such argumentation, the Azerbaijanian speakers demand that the NKAO be disbanded as not having justified itself. Referring to the constitution in force, they affirm that this is quite legal. After all, according to their interpretation, a union republic can itself determine its own administrative set-up. If the Armenians in the NKAO want to join, as they say, with mother Armenia, then the road is open to them: Let them leave.

In applying to the commission, many Azerbaijanians demanded that the center protect the interests and rights of the republic.

The Armenian majority in Nagorno-Karabakh, counteracting that position, demands reunification with Armenia and correction thereby of the historical mistake of the twenties when the people, having endured the genocide of 1915, were artificially divided. [video shows Azerbaijanians expressing their views at an open-air meeting]

[Man addressing a gathering on a town square] The policy of Islamization, the policy of Azerbaijanization of our oblast is still continuing after 6 months of such acute struggle.

[Kisilev] The Armenians, moreover, are demonstrating also their ancient monuments. Here, for example, is the 13th century Gansazar monastery, which encyclopedias call Armenian architecture. The commission also heard about outrages against national sacred objects, about distortion of history on the part of the Azerbaijanians, about the spiritual interests of the Armenian population being ignored, about diminution in the number of national schools, about artificial complication of contacts with Armenia, and about tendentious selection of cadres. Generally, the Armenians, in applying to the commission, defended the principle of the right of an ethnic group to self-determination, considering that the principle should be conventional. [video shows scenes at Armenian monastery and in an Armenian community]. Both sides drew the commission's attention to the difficult situation of the refugees, and there are already hundreds of thousands of them in the two republics. The situation is giving rise to extremism, and not the other way around. The difficulty of the position of the commission also lies in the fact that the time for a comparatively painless solution to the problem has, to a major extent, been allowed to pass. Attitudes have become so toughened that both sides are prepared to take up weapons. This is confirmed not only by the words spoken at the rostrum. Not a single day passes without shots resounding somewhere in the NKAO or without explosives being found. The Committee for Special Administration is merely capable of restraining the development of events. But can it do it for long? One way or another, the commission will report all this to the Supreme Soviet. A simple solution is scarcely possible, but a delay will...let us conclude with ellipses. [video shows military checkpoint]

Mid-July Nagorno-Karabakh Situation 'Explosive'

PM2707133589 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 16 Jul 89 p 1

[A. Kyazimzade report: "Nagorno Karabakh: Playing With Fire"]

[Excerpts] The latest TASS correspondent report from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] published in the press last Friday [14 July] was entitled, as most previous ones were, "Concerning the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh." The operative word here is concerning. But readers have long wanted to know about the actual events rather than merely being satisfied with carefully balanced semi-information.

Unfortunately, even today we are unable to talk about the actual events, as full information is unavailable to us. That is why we offer BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY'S readers the information which we managed to obtain by telephone yesterday.

B. Nefedov, assistant to the chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR NKAO Special Administration Committee, is on the line:

"The situation in the autonomous oblast could be described as explosive," he said. "The strike in Stepanakert goes on and only enterprises supplying essential services are working. Tension is mounting.

"Here are just a few incidents from the latest situation report. A home-made explosive device was set off in an apartment occupied by Azerbaijanis in Block No 51, on Zorge Street, where there are 26 families living. Fortunately there were no casualties. The whole area has been placed under guard by reinforced troop units and the street blocked off by armored vehicles. The incident is under investigation." [passage omitted]

"In the settlement of Malybeyli a group of Azerbaijani nationals stopped a vehicle, whose passengers included two Armenian servicemen. The latter were roughed up and the vehicle smashed." [passage omitted]

"The evacuation of Azerbaijanis from Stepanakert to Shusha continues. All roads in that direction are being patroled by troops.

"The curfew requirement are being strictly monitored by the special district command and the Special Administration Committee." [passage omitted]

And this is what was reported to us at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Nagorno-Karabakh events are naturally having an impact on the inhabitants of all the republic's cities and villages and are generating a certain tension. But, as a result of energetic efforts by party and soviet workers and law enforcement agencies and the preventive and extensive explanatory work carried out by them, calm reigns in the republic on the whole.

All necessary measures are also being taken in the NKAO to ensure the supply of foodstuffs to the inhabitants of Shusha and mountain settlements. Road obstructions roads are being cleared and isolated minor confrontations promptly quashed.

The situation is being monitored by the Special Administration Committee, the special district military command, and senior officials of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs who have arrived in the NKAO, working in close operational collaboration with one another. It can be stated that not a single ethnically motivated crime will go unpunished. [passage omitted]

Armenian Central Committee Plenum Held 25 Jul

Changes in Communist Party Noted

NC2607104089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1650 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] The plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee took place on 25 July, 1989. The following were invited to the plenum: the directors of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee departments attached to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Committee; the first secretaries of the party city and rayon committees; ministers; chairmen of the state committees; chairmen of the city and rayon soviet executive committees of the people's depties; officials of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, the republic's Council of Ministers, Armenian Trade Unions Council, Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] Central Committee, the republic's State Planning Organization, the Committee of People's Control and State Agro-industrial Committee; directors of the agricultural branches and research institutes; the secretaries and directors of collective and soviet farms, agrarian and prduction enterprises, construction organizations, and party organizations; leaseholders and representatives of the mass media.

The plenum examined the current problems facing the republic's party, soviet, and economic organizations within the framework of the implementation of the party's agrarian policy and radical improvement of consumer services to the population. Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on this issue.

The following participated in the debate that evolved around the report: Khachatryan, first secretary of the Gugarkskiy rayon party committee; Minasyan, first secretary of the Bagramyanskiy rayon party committee; Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's

Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's State Agro-industrial committee; (Badoyan), chairman of the Kalininskiy rayon soviet executive committee of the people's deputies; (Avazyan), worker at the [name indistinct] village of Shamshadinskiy Rayon; (Gomisyan), first secretary of the Gukasyanskiy Rayon party committee; Shakaryan, director of the [name indistinct] of the production association; (Sahibyan), secretary of Yerevan city party committee; Khachadryan, director of Nairi agricultural enterprise of Nairi rayon; Arakelyan, first secretary Sisianskiy rayon committee; Muradyan, director of the Armenian cooperative; Gevorkyan, first secretary of the Artashatskiy Rayon committee; Nazaryan, director of the pig farm collective in Stepanavan working on lease contract system; Shahbazyan, minister of grain products; Arutunyan, first secretary of Masiskiy Rayon party committee, and Miroyan, first secretary of Yerevan-Imeni 26 kommisars rayon party committee.

Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a closing speech.

The plenum endorsed a relevant decision on the issue under discussion.

The Armenian Communist Party plenum also discussed organizational matters.

The plenum relieved Minasbekyan of his duties as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. By secret ballot the plenum elected Asatryan, first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee, a member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The plenum confirmed Mailyan as chairman of the State and Legal Affairs Department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. It relieved Kurbanov from his post as editor of the SOVIET ERMENISTAN [SOVIET ARMENIA, in Azeri] newspaper for health reasons and upon his request. It relieved [Sevgyan] from his post as editor of RIYA TAZA [NEW LIFE, a Kurdish newspaper] newspaper for reasons of retirement. The plenum appointed Mamedov as the editor of SOVIET ERMENISTAN, and Davrishyan as editor of RIYA TAZA. The plenum acceded to the request of Avedisyan to be relieved from his post as chairman of the Committee on Questions Pertaining to State and Legal Policies of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Gevorgyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Court, was appointed to the above post.

The plenum then concluded its deliberations.

Party Decides Agrarian Issues

LD2507200489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] There was a plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party in Yerevan today. It examined tasks of party, soviet and economic organs of the republic to implement the agrarian policy of the party in modern conditions. The plenum decided resolutely to reject strong-arm methods and administering by means of orders and decrees which are the main reasons for the manifestations of crisis is the agrarian sector. The plenum also decided to switch collective farms, state farms and other enterprises in the agro-industrial complex to complete financial autonomy and self-financing and make wide use of lease contracting, combining it with long-term granting of land for rearing cattle, poultry and agricultural crops.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Election Committees Listed

NC3007115089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] On its front and second pages, the paper has published a decree of the Presidium of the Soviet Armenian Supreme Soviet (?confirming) the composition of the electoral okrug committees of Yerevan City Yekhbayrutun No 9, Kirovakan City Saakyan No 139, Ashtarak City Ashtarak No 169, Charentsavan City Charentsavan No 194, and Stepanavanskiy rayon [name indistinct] No 332 electoral okrugs, (?for) the elections to the (?11th) congress of the Soviet Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Yerevan City Party Committee Plenum Held 20 Jun

NC0607111589 Yerevan KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN in Armenian 21 Jun 89 p 1

[Excerpts] The Armenian Communist Party's Yerevan City Committee [gorkom] plenum was held on 20 June and discussed organizational problems. [passage omitted]

S.G. Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the plenum. He severely criticized the party's gorkom, its bureau, and the workstyle of its secretaries and discussed the basic trends of operations of the city's party organization. He pointed out that the party gorkom has not succeeded in taking effective measures to resolve the prevailing situation, eliminate negative trends in the capital's public and political life, or rally public opinion around restructuring.

It has failed to draw the appropriate conclusions from the criticism aired at the 1988 September plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and the plenum's results have not yet been debated by the party gorkom. The party conference's reporting on the election results also failed to result in any change in the activities of the gorkom despite severe criticism of its workstyle.

Many questions of principle in the activities of the city's party organization remain neglected by the gorkom's bureau. Plans in the areas of industry and construction are rarely implemented. Many social, cultural, and communal service projects have not been commissioned.

There are substantial shortcomings in the style of administration of party raykoms and grass-roots party organizations. They are not being given active assistance in restructuring style and methods of party work and there is little guidance and supervision of their activities. The party's gorkom is lax in studying the social sphere; the public's trade, transportation, health, and communal services remain neglected.

Comrade S.G. Arutunyan spoke in detail on the results and implementation of the decisions passed by the first congress of the USSR people's deputies, noting the activities of the Armenian SSR deputies group. He devoted particular attention to the problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Analyzing the course of the construction and restoration work in the disaster zone, Comrade S.G. Arutunyan called on the communists of the capital and all Yerevan residents to activate their efforts in providing comprehensive assistance to the stricken areas.

Taking part in the plenum were the candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; R.Y. Akopyan, director of the organizational party and cadre work department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and E.F. Avagyan, chairman of Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee of People's Deputies.

Amasiyskiy Rayon Replaces First Secretary
NC2807070189 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] At a meeting of the plenum of the Amasiyskiy rayon party committee for a discussion of organizational questions, G. Gasanov was relieved of his post as first secretary of the rayon party committee at his request.

The plenum elected by secret ballot S. Arutunyan as first secretary of the Amasiyskiy rayon party committee from among three candidates. He was formerly chairman of the Amasiyskiy rayon soviet executive committee of people's deputies.

Georgian Party Sets Up Development Working Group
PM1207095389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, in accordance with the decision of the 15th plenum, has formed a working group under the leadership of Comrade G.G. Gumbaridze to elaborate a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee draft concept in the sphere of national development. It is to give broad expression to questions of Georgia's political, economic, social and cultural development, interethnic relations, and other important problems. Prominent representatives of the republic's public have been included in the working group.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau approved the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on the creation of two commissions on questions of the political and legal evaluation of the violation of the 7 May 1920 Treaty between Georgia and Soviet Russia and the study of immigration processes in the republic and the elaboration of the corresponding proposals.

The Bureau also approved the Presidium's resolution to submit for examination by the commission on the elaboration of the republic's Constitution questions on the exercise of the Georgian SSR's real sovereignty, the introduction of a statute on Georgian SSR citizenship, the terms of the operation of USSR laws on Georgian SSR territory, the restoration of national military formations, and the performance of military service by draftees from the republic on the territory of the Georgian SSR.

The aforementioned commissions are to present their proposals to a session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Belorussian Presidium Chairman Elected
LD3107174489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Dementey, who was previously secretary of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, has been elected chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorrussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Belorussian 28 Jul Supreme Soviet Session Viewed

Session Called 'Stormy'
LD2807193489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] A state program is needed in order to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident on Belorussian land. This is the conclusion of scientists, specialists, the leaders, and public of the republic. Their proposals were studied by the participants at a session of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet that began in Minsk today. The session approved an extensive list of economic and social measures that make up this program. Discussion of it was stormy.

It was not the protective measures themselves, whose necessity is clear to everyone, which gave rise to deputies' doubts, but how to carry out what is intended. After

all, the cost of Chernobyl, in Belorussia alone, has already risen to R10 billion. The republic itself cannot find such funds. So far there is no clarity on aid from the union.

In connection with Comrade Tarazevich's election as chairman of the Permanent Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities, the session has released him from the obligations of chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Dementey, who formerly worked as a secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, has been elected to this post.

The session will continue its work on 29 July.

Chernobyl Aid Program Assessed

LD2907003989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A session of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet opened in Minsk today. It is considering a state program for eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station in the republic.

[A. Zhuk] Over 3 years have passed since the Chernobyl tragedy. The session noted that Belorussia had received two-thirds of the radiation wind. The contaminated territory, which constitutes one-fifth of the republic's agricultural land, is inhabited by half a million people, mainly residents of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts. After the explosion, 25,000 adults and children were evacuated from the three southern regions. One hundred and seventy settlements have been built for them. Plans for treating the land that is effected and equipping the population centers with services and utilities and supplying them with clean foodstuffs have been adopted every year since the accident. Nevertheless, if one tries to estimate at what stage we are now in our battle against the Chernobyl accident, we can say with confidence that so far several times less has been done than what is yet to be done to fully eliminate these sad consequences. Sluggishness in this complex and by no means harmless matter is justly disturbing people.

[Begin recording] [V.V. Kovalenok, USSR cosmonaut, identified by caption] The program that is being proposed is half-measured. It is being elaborated in the old style and spirit of the times that have passed.

Thirty-five becquerel! There is no proof that one can survive a lifetime dose. This is not a way out of the situation. There are documents that determine norms for atomic power stations' staff, whereas in this case it is a matter of eating food. How can it be possible to live in such conditions?

[V.I. Goncharuk, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Trade Unions], identified by caption] A principle must be laid down and implemented. The first thing is that where it is impossible to ensure safe conditions, people should be moved away, having received appropriate compensation. Where even the smallest risk remains, but it is possible to ensure normal conditions, people should be receiving compensation. This will be just and humane. This must be decided. Because the Chernobyl problem is a problem of the whole state, a general state program of action, a balanced comprehensive program, must be adopted, and it must be implemented under the tough supervision of the government—the union and the republican government—as well as of the public. This is the position of the Belorussian trade unions. [end recording]

Belorussian Bodies Appeal for Chernobyl Aid

LD2807132289 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Minsk July 28 TASS—Several Belorussian mass and church organisations appealed for aid in overcoming the consequences of the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The organisations, which include the Belorussian Peace Committee, a republican branch of the Soviet Peace Fund, the Belorussian Radzima (Motherland) Society, Belorussia's Red Cross Society, the Belorussian Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church published an appeal "to compatriots in all countries of the world" in the local press.

As is known nearly a fifth of the republic's territory was exposed to radiation contamination in April 1986. The worst hit were the residents of the Gomel and Mogilev regions. Over 70 populated localities ceased to exist after their inhabitants were evacuated to other, radiation-free regions. The same fate soon awaits the residents of other settlements and villages. Over the three and a half years following the Chernobyl tragedy the government and mass organisations in Belorussia and the Soviet Union did a lot to eliminate the consequences of the accident and restore the health of people with radiation sickness. More than a billion roubles were spent for this purpose. Despite this, the problem remains.

"The danger for people's health, primarily children, causes special pain and alarm in our hearts," the appeal says, naming the equipment which is in short supply. These are geiger counters, a variety of ultrasound devices, endoscopic equipment for examining the rib cage and digestive organs, and hematologic automatic devices made by U.S. company Sequoia. The organisations will collect, control the distribution and use of funds. Mail donations should be addressed to the Belorussian Peace Committee in Minsk.

"We believe in the ability of the people of good will to do good, despite the differences in political views and religious convictions and hope that our faith will be strengthened by practical deeds of all those who still have fond memories of Belorussia and its people," the appeal says.

12 Chernobyl-Affected Villages Resettled

LD2807162589 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has decided to resettle to safety 12 Ukrainian villages situated in an area where the effects are still felt of radioactive contamination caused by the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in 1986.

The decision follows an appeal from the residents of one of the villages to the Supreme Soviet. The residents held a rally to express a vote of no confidence in the Health Minister of the Ukraine Romanenko. He and a number of other Ukrainian officials are responsible for concealing full information concerning the hazardous effects of radiation from the population.

Ukraine State Committee Chief Appointed

LD2807140489 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 14 Jul 89, p 1

[Summary] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Presidium resolves:

To appoint Comrade Anatoliy Kalenkovich Minchenko as chairman of the Ukrainian SSR's State Committee for Material-Technical Supplies.

A. Minchenko was born in 1939, and is Ukrainian.

Oblast Party Chief Replaced in Kzyl-Orda

PM2707153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Kzyl-Orda, 25 Jul—A plenum of the Kzyl-Orda Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee (obkom) was held today, which discussed an organizational question.

The plenum released Ye.N. Auelbekov from his duties as first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his election as deputy chairman of a commission under the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

S. Shaukhamanov was elected first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda party obkom, having previously worked as chairman of the Taldy-Kurgan Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the plenum work.

Uzbek Party Central Committee Plenum Held 29 Jul

PM3107095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Tashkent, 29 Jul—An Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in Tashkent today. It listened to information about the work of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee commissions in the main avenues of the Central Committee's activity. Information from M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the work of the Central Committee commission to investigate the circumstances of the tragic events in Fergana Oblast was also discussed.

The plenum was addressed by I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

Moldavia Abolishes Ministry of Light Industry

PM1707144589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has abolished the Moldavian SSR Union Republic Ministry of Light Industry.

Moldavian Chief Discusses Interethnic Tension

LD3107132689 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 1

[Excerpts] S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, met with the aktiv of the republic's war and labor veterans' organization.

It was stressed that the sociopolitical situation has grown considerably more complex in the republic recently, particularly in the area of relations between the nationalities. It has virtually got out of the control of party and local soviet bodies and leaders and party organizations at enterprises, establishments, and educational institutions. This is connected with the activity of informal associations and extremist elements which, in the teeth of historical truth, use various fabricated motives in their attempts to revise certain events and dates in our history. They disorganize things and sometimes simply prevent the working people of the republic from marking these dates in the traditional way.

Unfortunately such actions are not always unsuccessful. Suffice it to recall what happened in the capital on 28 July. Passions were aroused by various insinuations and inventions about carnage which was allegedly going to occur that day and about repressions which were allegedly going to befall people. Certain publications and sections of the mass media, which made malicious

attacks on their opponents, played their part in this. It has to be said that the administrative bodies of the town and republic were in control of the situation and fortunately things did not go so far that there were any dangerous incidents. [passage omitted]

It was noted at the meeting that the argument still centers mainly on the language problem. But the significance of demographic and sociohistorical problems is being blown up increasingly more often and that inflames passions even more. It is particularly worrying that various informal associations are set up along national and ethnic lines. Thus, they put social and political issues concerning only the interests of the nations and ethnic groups represented amongst their numbers to the fore.

Recently there have been increasingly frequent attempts to put pressure on the leadership of the republic by certain individuals and groups of people who put forward a variety of ultimatums. This is stirring up public opinion and provoking emotional instability and confusion in the minds of some of the population. It is accompanied by a sharp increase in tension and is leading to more intense confrontation between people on grounds of nationality. [passage omitted]

S.K. Grossu answered numerous questions from those participating in the meeting concerning the sociopolitical situation in the republic.

Delay in Registering 'Memorial' Noted

PM3107095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Readers' letter under the rubric "Mail on Page 6": "Who Then Distrusts 'Memorial'"]

[Text] We, the relatives of revolutionaries destroyed by Stalin—revolutionaries who were struggling even under tsarism for a new social system—are profoundly concerned about the fate of the "Memorial" people's movement.

The "Memorial" society was created not only for those who are no longer alive, but for those who remain. And for all those who live and will live on our planet. They not only need the memory but the whole truth about our past so that they can overcome its present-day consequences.

The exposure of Stalinism and compassion for its victims demands that people's conscience and charity be aroused. And it can promote the people's moral and spiritual cleansing. The fundamental rejection of violence and lies in social relations is a necessary step on the path toward a rule-of-law state.

The delay in the registration of the all-union voluntary historical enlightenment society "Memorial" causes alarm on the path toward this state. "Memorial's" constituent conference was held back in January 1989 with the participation of delegates from over 100 of the country's cities. All formalities required by the law were observed. There are also official founders including prominent ones like the Union of Cinematographers, the Union of Artists, and the Union of Architects. How to explain that month after month pass by yet to this day "Memorial" has not been recognized by the Soviet authorities?

Even the competition for the plans for a monument to the victims of Stalin's repressions was announced without the participation of the "Memorial" foundation public council. People are probably unused to involving in state matters a council elected by people on the streets and not at polling stations. But it is not only a state matter, it is also a matter for the people! And so is the money.

After the appropriate protests, "Memorial" was allowed by the USSR Ministry of Culture to take part in the work of the competition jury. We should like to ask: Could it not have done so without protests?

We should like to look into the eyes of those who distrust "Memorial," to enter into dialogue with them, and to try to change their minds. But someone's decisive opinions remains mysteriously faceless. They talk of the lack of all-union legislation in this field, of how the new Supreme Soviet should adopt a new law on public organizations. But point 14 of the existing 10 July 1932 resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Soviet of People's Commissars provides for the opportunity to register all-union societies whose boards are within the RSFSR.

You cannot help asking: To whom is it necessary that "Memorial," which defends the rights of the repressed, should itself have no rights and not even have permanent premises to store the priceless documents and relics it has already collected?

Supporting "Memorial," which was created democratically and publicly [glasno], and which advocates society's consistent renewal, is in the interests of all those who are not indifferent to our country's further destiny. [Signed] A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, M. Tukhachevskaya, O. Tukhachevskaya, M. Kosareva-Naneyshvili, G. Poleshchuk-Muralova, S. Fedorova, V. Uborevich-Borovskiy, Lev Razgon, (V. Kochneva Tamarnik), Kh. Rakovskiy, T. Smigla-Poluyan, S. Sheboldayev

AUCCTU Makes Appeal on Veterans' Pensions

LD2807200989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Excerpts] An expanded session of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Presidium took place in Moscow's Palace of Labor today. What issues did the participants discuss and what was at the center of attention? Was the debate a fruitful one? To answer these questions, here is commentator Yakov Smirnov, who has just returned from the session.

[Smirnov] [Passage omitted] Submitting to the general view at the session, the AUCCTU Presidium adopted an appeal to all trade union organizations in the country. It states, inter alia: The fact that many war and labor veterans, those who bore the brunt of the severities of war, who overcame cold, hunger, and destruction, receive a scanty pension and can barely make ends meet can be tolerated no longer. All Soviet people greeted with enormous satisfaction the decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to draw up and immediately adopt a law on the poorly off and to raise the minimum pension level as early as next January. It is the view of the USSR Supreme Soviet members and our profound conviction that an opportunity should be found to bring forward as far as possible the day when veterans will receive a more solid pension and for carrying out this humane act from October of this year. Where are R1.5 billion to be found now, especially for this purpose, if the government does not have such resources at its disposal? As has often been the case at crucial periods of history, an example once again has been set by Communists, who are allocating R500 milion from their party dues. So let us trade union members also take part in financing this noble act and display collective charity toward our glorious veterans. The trade unions are capable of doing so. If each primary trade union organization allocates for these purposes the entire sum of membership dues collected by it over 2 months of the current year, we already will have around R560 million. If we are more persistent in tackling the problems of labor protection and improving the production environment, it will be possible, by economizing on the payment of sickness benefits, to substantially supplement the funds being set up locally for enhancing preventive work and improvement measures, from which there is a real possibility of allocating around R140 million more. That would mean R700 million from the trade unions to help our poorly off pensioners, invalids, and the families of fallen servicemen from as early as October 1989. The AUCCTU Presidium asks that this appeal be discussed at extraordinary trade union assemblies in all primary organizations. You, comrades, and only you, have the right to decide this issue and to dispose of your membership dues. So let us make this decision unanimously in each of our 700,000 primary trade union organizations.

Well, comrades, I think all of us support this appeal, and I would like to mention that the money will be paid into a special account, the number of which will be published in tomorrow's edition of TRUD.

Shcherbitskiy Has Meeting With Veterans

PM1207075989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With Veterans"]

[Excerpts] Kiev, 30 Jun—Party, war, and labor veterans are seen as a golden asset in our country. The wealth of their experience of life helps us learn from the past and make correct advances along the path of restructuring. However, they have also accumulated quite a few problems of their own. A frank and meaningful discussion on this was held at the meeting with representatives of the almost 10 million republican veterans held today at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The meeting was addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

KGB Apprehends Bomb-Threat Extortionist

LD2807190589 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—The KGB and militia in the city of Cherepovets in central Russian apprehended a blackmailer threatening to explode a bomb at a local factory unless provided with 60,000 roubles.

The racketeer, who was caught red-handed, is facing extortion charges under Article 95 of the Russian Federation's criminal code.

Moscow Militia Gives Briefing on Crime Situation

PM1107134389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "38, Petrovka Reports"]

[Text] Moscow—The participants in a news conference held in Moscow 5 July focused their attention on summing up the work of the City Internal Affairs Administration and analyzing the operational situation in the city during the 1st 6 months.

Lieutenant General P. Bogdanov, deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration, who spoke there, pointed out that the situation in the capital remains uneasy—crime is continuing to grow. Some 18,000 crimes were recorded at the Criminal Investigation Department alone—67 percent more than during the corresponding period last year. There is considerable growth in recidivist crime. The frequency of cases of group and organized crime has increased.

As already reported, a special department has been set up at the Internal Affairs Main Administration to combat organized crime. Its staffers most frequently encounter racketeering. It was emphasized that extortionists are becoming increasingly cruel, subject their victims to refined torture, and offer armed resistance on being arrested. The racketeers include quite a few cooperative members, who attack their own "colleagues."

This year criminal proceedings have been instituted against 56 cabdrivers who, together with a group of accomplices, carried out armed attacks on well dressed passengers with money. The cabdrivers were tipped off about likely targets.

One of the most successful of this department's operations in recent days was the arrest of a cooperative chairman. Judging by the whole arsenal of firearms discovered at his place in the search, and also tear gas canisters, handcuffs, and a militia uniform, he used the cooperative as a screen for his criminal activity. The total value of the valuables, money, foreign currency, goods in short supply, and foodstuffs confiscated from him runs into millions.

Another shocking figure cited by P. Bogdanov related to the activity of the Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation. In the capital's Sokolnicheskiy Rayon on the bank of the Yauza staffers of this service discovered 1,250 kg of sausage which had been thrown out. A further check on stores showed that this was not an isolated incident. Valuable foodstuffs which spoil for a variety of reasons were also discovered in garbage containers, as occurred at one of the Kalinin RTO's [expansion unknown; possibly rayon trade association] stores.

The critical question was posed concerning militia cadres' training. There are many problems here. In particular, staff turnover is too high. The basic reasons for this are poor wages, the lack of legal protection for employees of the law enforcement organs, difficult working conditions, and poor technical facilities. But in spite of all the complexities connected with recruitment, the capital's militia is resolutely cleaning up its ranks.

Foreign Experience in Fighting Crime To Be Studied
OW2407071689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1035 GMT 13 Jul 89

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Excerpt] Currently, crime is the problem, not only for those living on the other side of our state border, but ours as well, and one of most acute problems, at that. This does not mean that their crimes are of no interest for us. [Tsvetov emphasizes the word "their"]. Moreover, the knowledge of methods used overseas in fighting crime can help us to find our own efficient means to guard public order. [passage omitted]

Border Guards Discuss 'Political Leadership'
PM1207090589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Losik: "Generalization of Experience"]

[Text] The USSR KGB border troops' main and political directorates have held a scientific-practical conference which discussed topical problems in the activity of border troops' political organs in perestroyka and the mastering of new methods of political leadership.

A report was delivered by Major General V. Vinogradov, first deputy chief of the USSR KGB border troops' political directorate.

Taking part in the conference's work were members of military councils, chiefs of border districts' political departments, chiefs of border troop colleges, and professors and teachers of border troops' higher educational institutions.

They exchanged experience of work and drew attention to the need for the more thorough elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive program for studying problems of the theory and practice of political leadership methods.

Council of Ministers Greets Cooperatives Congress
PM0607104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to the First All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the Spheres of Production and Services]

[Text] To the First All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the Spheres of Production and Services

Dear Comrades!
The USSR Council of Ministers cordially greets you, delegates to the First All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the Spheres of Production and Services.

Your congress is taking place at a time when cardinal restructuring of Soviet society's economic, political, and spiritual life has begun in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which proclaimed concern for man to be the supreme purpose of the socialist society's activity, lent new impetus to these changes.

The process of socialist renewal has created preconditions for reviving the cooperative movement in all its diversity in the light of society's new tasks and new demands. It is a matter of modern, highly cultured cooperatives that are broadly integrated with state enterprises and organizations as well.

In resolving society's immediate socioeconomic tasks, an important role is played by cooperatives in the spheres of production and services, which can promote the faster development of efficient forms of production based on cooperative ownership and creating scope for displaying initiative and enterprise in the common interests of producers and consumers. The cooperatives are called upon to help to satisfy the population's demands for consumer goods and consumer and other services and to develop housing and cultural and consumer service construction.

Your union can help increase cooperatives' contribution to the country's economy, strengthen their economic competitiveness with enterprises in the state sector of the economy, and lower the prices of cooperative products and services. At the same time, it must take active measures to prevent negative phenomena in cooperatives' activity and to affirm social justice and responsibility toward society. We expect the union to seek and find effective ways for the cooperatives to collaborate with the state management organs in the interests of the population.

In their turn, soviet and economic organs are called upon to give the necessary assistance and support to the cooperative movement by harmoniously combining cooperative and state interests.

The USSR Council of Ministers expresses confidence that cooperatives in the spheres of production and services, united in their union, will make a worthy contribution to resolving the vitally important problems of Soviet society.

We wish your congress fruitful work.
[Signed] USSR Council of Ministers

Biryukova Attends Cooperatives Congress
PM1107140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Cooperative Congress"]

[Text] The cooperative movement is playing an increasingly large role in shaping the socialist market and resolving pressing questions involved with satisfying peoples's demand for high-quality goods and services. It has aroused the masses' creative initiative and, despite existing problems, is gaining momentum. The cooperative movement's place in the socialist economy and the prospects for its development are being discussed by delegates at the First All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the Spheres of Production and Services, which began work in Moscow 30 June.

The presidium included A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the USSR Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of a number of ministries and departments.

A.P. Biryukova read out to the First All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the Spheres of Production and Services a greetings message from the USSR Council of Ministers.

A.D. Korobkin, rector of the consumer trade cooperative movement's scientific and educational complex, the "Moskovskiy Kooperativnyy Institut Tsentrosoyuza SSSR," delivered a report. He noted that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference gave a powerful boost to the development of the cooperative system in the country. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies has also confirmed cooperative members' hopes of consistent support for their movement.

According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, more than 100,000 cooperatives, with almost 2 million members, were operating in the country as of 1 April 1989. The amount of work and services provided by them in 1988 is estimated at a value of R6,061 million. But in the 1st quarter of this year the figure was already R4,307 million.

Cooperative members themselves can give real aid to the development of the cooperative movement by uniting to form unions and associations on a territorial and sectoral basis.

The speaker focused attention on the need for careful study of questions concerning self-sufficiency for the cooperative movement. He also described the elaboration of many articles of the law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" as an important task. The absence of an all-embracing strategic concept of state policy on the cooperative system is acting as a drag, the speaker said. It is essential to further improve the taxation system and enhance its role as an incentive.

Delegates from the various regions of the country who spoke in debate raised the questions which are most acute for the cooperative movement and put proposals designed to improve its work.

The congress is continuing its work.

Efforts To Revitalize NKAO Rural Areas Viewed
PM0507110589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Rudenko report: "Restoring Life"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic—Over the last 25 years the population of Gadrutskiy Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has declined by one-third and there are now far more pensioners than people below passport age. And small children could virtually be counted on the fingers of one hand. Last year the oblast social security department did not receive a single sick leave certificate from the rayon for pregnancy and confinement.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee regards the socioeconomic development of rural areas as an important way to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the funds allocated by the country's government for the needs of the region—more than R400 million—is being used to construct production and social projects.

Aid "from above" is meeting with growing support "from below." There are an increasing number of examples in the oblast where leaders are endeavoring to improve living and working conditions in practice and not just in words. Dairy livestock breeding at the Kalinin Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Gadrutskiy Rayon has noticeably improved with the arrival of young cadres. But the kolkhoz board has had to really tackle social problems in order to attract young people: They have put livestock breeding premises in order, surfaced several kilometers of road leading into the village, opened a hairdressing salon and a shoe shop, repaired the school....

People appreciate the sincere concern being shown them and respond to good with good, although the kolkhoz is not in a position to do very much for them at present because it is only just getting on its feet itself. Nevertheless, it is very important not to passively wait for outside help and ensure at least the minimum of services which every farm is now capable of providing its working people.

Psychological barriers in people's minds have also to be overcome if the mountain settlements are to have their masters returned to them. Many people simply do not want to go "out into the boondocks" and do not believe in the possibility of social development in such areas or good wages. Meanwhile, in Stepanakert alone, there are some 12,000 refugees—they are huddled together in cramped conditions and have nowhere to work, while good houses with subsidiary plots are standing empty in rural areas and there is a shortage of manpower.

Nevertheless, the process of reviving these remote mountain settlements has begun. New lights are burning in the windows of Nagorno-Karabakh's old houses—houses restored to life.

Radiation Meters To Be Made Available
PM0507130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 First Edition p 2

[B. Pipiya report under the "Reporter's Teletype" rubric: "Meters for Everyone"]

[Excerpts] "Interatomkontrol-89" is the name of an international specialist exhibition opening at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. It has been organized by the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the "Interatomenergo" international economic association. [passage omitted]

Approximately 30 different instruments and devices were submitted by Soviet institutes, organizations, and nuclear power stations. L. Voronin, USSR first deputy minister of nuclear power generation, said that our country has created two types of meter to measure radiation. They are now being certified; series production will then begin and the meters will then be available to the public.

Tatar Anti-Nuclear Protests Reported
PM2707160489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 23 Jul 89 p 5

[Natalya Davydova and Aleksey Fedorov report: "Residents Protest Nuclear Plants"]

[Text] Kazan-Nizhnekamsk-Kamskiye Polyany—Recently there was a protest march to oppose the construction of the new nuclear power plant (NPP) in the Tatar Autonmomous Republic. Protesters set up camp for two days in the picturesque village of Kamskiye Polyany, on the bank of the Kama, a tributary of the Volga.

We were amidst rivers and lakes which still had healthy fish in them. As we walked through waist-high grass, dragon flies stirred up from the earth. A woman carrying two buckets of wild strawberries approached us. But another half hour's walk brought us to a construction site where mounds of dirt had replaced meadows. The first power unit stood nearly ready to receive the nuclear reactor.

The scientists of the Tatar Autonomous Republic (territory—67,800 sq km; population—over 3.5 million) are against the station and, judging by the press and TV, this is also the opinion of most of the population. Gumer Usmanov, secretary of the Regional Party Committee, and Mintimer Shaymiyev, Chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers, applied to Moscow—to the USSR Council of Ministers—with a request to subject the project to an all-round examination by a non-departmental commission.

However, the construction of the Tatar NPP started in the early 80s and is going on at the planned rate to this date. No discussions or protests have hindered it so far. When the non-departmental commission was working in Moscow, alarming rumours started to spread across Kazan that the first nuclear reactor was either floating along the river to Kamskiye Polyany, or was already delivered to the station.

The evening before the march, its participants—students, workers and scientists, mostly quite young people—gathered on the "frying-pan" (the name of the square in front of the old building of Kazan University). And a few hours before we witnessed a round table on problems of nuclear power stations.

"Are our leaders confused about what's going on in Kazan?" a representative from the USSR State Committee for Supervision over the Safety of Work in Nuclear Power Engineering (Gosatomnadzor) in Moscow, asked the audience.

What are people afraid of?

...Earthquake tremors were registered near the cities Nizhnekamsk, Naberezhniye Chelny and Yelabuga, 6 Force. At the site of the Tatar NPS, the subterranean shocks reached 6.5 force. A power unit was destroyed and a nuclear reactor was damaged. Residents of a town and of villages near the emergency zone were evacuated. Over a million people have to be evacuated from Nizhnekamsk, Naberezhniye Chelny and Yelabuga cities. The pollution of ground waters led to radioactive contamination of Volga-Sura and Vyatka-Kama artesian pools and huge territories are left without fresh water...

...A break-down at the Nizhnekamsk Hydropower Plant led to tragic results. A 12-metre wave formed after the dam broke, reached Kamskiye Polyany and flooded the first power unit. Kazan residents and the residents of the whole Volga-Kama region and the Caspian area became the hostages of the NPS as scientists gave out warnings.

Let these apocalyptic pictures a figment of the imaginations of Tatar scientists. No one can guarantee that they will not become reality. The site of the Tatar NPS was regarded as 5 Force earthquake category when it was being designed. But there was a 6 Force quake this March in the region of Yelabuga, and in 1982 and 1986 there was earthquakes in the region of Almetyevsk. Tataria is going to be shaken in the future too, due to the huge amount of oil and gas pumped out of its ground and the formation of karst hollows. The seismic qualities of the NPS zone are also caused by an active tectonic fault some 1.5-2 km deep. The NPS is being built against all the rules, next to a hydropower station higher up the river. The scientists in Tataria are raising the alarm - the geological, hydrogeological and seismological conditions are all wrong for the site of an NPS.

Calamities are also promised for tomorrow. A total of 5,000 hectares of fertile land and perishing in the area of three rivers. Twenty-five square kilometres of richest meadow will be flooded by the cooler pool. Against all norms, the pool's dam was built practically in the bay of two rivers - the Kama and the Sheshma. The pool itself will consume the water of dozens of lakes and bays. The quality of the processed waters hasn't been studied thoroughly, but the effect of thermal pollution alone (the temperature near the NPS will go up by 5 to 6 degrees Celsius) threatens to destroy ecological equilibrium in the region.

And the station is going up without an approved project, and the latter's ecological examination will be completed in the third quarter of next year. But then, according to the representative of the Gosatomnadzor, the building of NPSs in our country without ready and approved projects is the rule rather than the exception. Isn't that why so many of them are considered useless when millions have already been spent?

The construction of an NPS in Odessa, right on a geological fault, was halted thanks to the interference of scientists. A group of foreign specialists is now inspecting a reactor in the Crimea, into which 500 million roubles has already been invested. The construction of the Chigirinskaya NPS was stopped at the insistence of scientists and the public, and the construction of other reactors was halted in Minsk, the Krasnodar Territory and the Ulyanovsk Region. Millions of roubles have been dug into the earth. Can we be so wasteful? But let's remember the "price" of Chernobyl—the officially announced 8.5 billion roubles! Preliminary research, before work started in Tataria, came to only 11,000. Compare this with the 2.5 billion allocated to build the first two units of the NPS, or with the 480 million already spent. It is time—because the mean guy has to pay twice.

Before the Chernobyl tragedy the leaders of many regions were literally fighting at the Council of Ministers for both chemical plants and new NPSs. In those years, construction sites were selected according to "phone calls from the top". The situation in Tataria is, alas, no exception. Even the advocates of nuclear energy today exclude this form of deploying NPSs. New approaches are needed. Which? The protest marchers in Tataria called for a referendum on all the NPSs.

No one could imagine how this protest march against the construction of the NPS would be held. It was the first in the country. From Kazan to Nizhnekamsk we went by meteor hydrofoil over the river. From there we had to march some 50 km more. We landed in Nizhnekamsk—together with little babies, and dogs, rucksacks, tents and posters—right into plus 36 degrees Celsius in the shade. We learned that the construction administration of the NPS had sent buses for the marchers. It was decided to march only a part of the road and travel the rest by bus. I think that was quite reasonable: many small marchers would not have been able to get to the NPS by themselves. However, the "atomic scientists" temporarily snatched the initiative from the marchers. They even suggested a site for a camp. And they themselves wanted to meet the marchers and spent 90 minutes at the camp, answering questions, persuading people that they were right and manipulating figures—the USSR is the 18th in the world for nuclear power, our power reserves amount to a mere three per cent (the USA—30 per cent). By the year 2000, the deficit of electric power might be equal to 15-16 per cent and we'll lose 18 per cent of our national income. Should we build hydropower or thermal power stations? We've already flooded so many thousands of hectares of land and resettled hundreds and thousands of people, and thermal power plants have burned natural oil and gas, creating a "hothouse effect" on the earth.

The marchers argued.

Albert Garapov, engineer-physicist, member of the Kazan Ecological club:

"Nuclear plants generate a tenth of all electricity in our country. That's less than could be saved by power-saving technologies. The general radiation background is growing and its influence on human health will be apparant

several generations later. Can we do without NPSs, for example, in our Tataria? The Republic already produces twice as much power as it consumes. So what, we'll be exporting it."

Yuriy Kotov, people's deputy of the USSR, head of the Department of Ecology and Environmental Protection of Kazan University:

A patrol car was on duty by the tents for the whole night. We were being guarded openly. In the morning, however, the marchers decided to break contacts with the "atomic scientists" and to go to the station. We didn't have to cross any fences or other obstacles—they simply didn't exist. The fields are still planted with maize over a huge territory, though beyond them you could see the city of 40,000 power engineers. On the horizon you could see the auxiliary buildings of the plant and heaps of ground next to new foundation pits. At last we came to an obstacle—in front of the building of the first power unit. A huge crane hung over our heads and the impresive buildings showed that the constructors were finished their day.

Nearly 500 million invested; no scary forecasts or indignant people with posters in their hands near the power units would stop these builders. Is there a way out?

Yuriy Voronin, vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] spoke on behalf of the Republic's government at the round table:

"The government's opinion," he said, "is based on the opinion of Kazan's scientists. If they are sure that the site for the plant is potentially dangerous, then the reactor should not be built. The State Planning Committee of Tataria has adopted a decision to allocate five million roubles next year to salvage the plant's industrial section."

Has the government of the autonomous Tataria the right to act this way if the decision to construct the reactor was made at Union level? I asked people's deputy Yuriy Kotov about this when we stood near the first power unit among a group of marchers chanting—"Get rid of the NPS!"

"I'd act even more resolutely, without postponing things until next year," he answered. "We have to hurry before they bring in the reactor."

Nuclear Society Provides Industry Information

LD1207225489 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] The USSR Nuclear Society, set up earlier this year, has made available more information about the development of the Soviet nuclear power industry to a delegation of the Atomic Association of the United States, which is paying a visit to Moscow. Until recently such information has been top secret. Details were given, among other things, of a thermal blast that occureed in 1957 at a defense factory near the southern Urals town of Kushtym. The blast resulted in radioactive discharges which fell out over the Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, and Sverdlovsk regions. Local residents had to be evacuated from some areas and crop fields were ploughed up. Not a single case of radiation sickness has been recorded in the areas concerned.

100,000 Sign Nuclear Power Plant Protest Message

LD3007022689 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] More than 100,000 residents of the city of Gorkiy have signed the message of protest against the heating nuclear power plant project. It is being built 5 km from residential areas next to a pine grove where health resorts and recreation facilities are situated. The project has already required R200 million. Its authors argue that the theoretical probability of an accident at the station is one per 1 million years of operation. Meanwhile experts have suggested alternative options less costly and safer ecologically. One of them provides for converting the project into a heating station burning natural gas. The finished facilities of the project can be used for this purpose.

Belousov Attends Fishermen's Day Meeting

PM1207095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Honor of Fishermen's Day"]

[Text] On 7 July a festive meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet fishing industry and Fishermen's Day took place in Moscow. N.I. Kotlyar, USSR minister of the fish industry, gave the report.

I.S. Belousov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, scientists, and representatives of the capital's public took part in the meeting.

German Movie on Prague Spring Victim Reviewed

PM1207093289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[N. Zorkaya movie review under the general heading "Moscow International Festival": "'Follow Me': Director Maria Knilli, FRG"]

[Excerpts] Unlike Shakespeare's gravediggers in "Hamlet," who, as you know, were philosophers by vocation and resolved the problems of life with spades in their hands, the hero of this West German movie, Pavel Navratil, philosopher and professor, chose the gravedigger's trade more or less willy-nilly. This intellectual came to the Olszany city cemetery as a result of the bad times

after the "Prague spring." It was then that major scholars had to earn a living by cleaning windows and scarce specialists sold cabbages in the market—a "brain drain" that was dangerous to the nation, the breaking of a whole generation whose flowering was radiant and full of hope...

Let us note the boldness of the young director, Maria Knilli [as transliterated], who has addressed this topic with compassion. This sense of involvement gives the picture a particular resonance and can be sensed in the subtext, in the internal connections that are perhaps not immediately recognizable, but important. Thus Pavel Landovsky, who plays the main part, is himself a figure of the sixties, an actor from what was then the leading theater— Prague's "Cinoherny Club," and a participant in the movies of Czechoslovakia's "new wave."

But... the trouble is the deliberate, sometimes excessively sophisticated, sometimes downright pretentious form. [passage omitted]

There is also a good deal of pretension in the text of the picture. It is a pity. One would like to wish the talented 30-year-old Maria Knilli more restraint and simplicity.

Ethnic German Spokesman Praises USSR Congress

LD1807162989 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Viktor Chistyakov:

The congress of people's deputies has justified the expectations of Soviet Germans, believes a leader of the All-Union Society of Soviet Germans, Rebirth.

Yuriy Gaar, co-chairman of the society and chairman of its Saratov Chapter, expressed satisfaction in a TASS interview with the establishment of a commission to study problems of Soviet Germans, conduct an in-depth analysis of the current situation and give recommendations for the future.

"The congress demonstrated that people of various nationalities in the country understand the problem of Soviet Germans," Gaar said.

A plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will become a new step towards the solution of this issue, he pointed out.

Success of the committee set up by the Congress is guaranteed by openness and glasnost in discussing nationality problems, the Rebirth co-chairman said.

Vital requirements of the Germans living in the Soviet Union should not be ignored any more. The costs of the old approach, amounting in fact to inaction, are quite obvious today, he observed.

"We, activists of the Rebirth Society, are worried over the growth of emigration of our citizens to the Federal Republic of Germany," Gaar said. "But I'm sure that the restoration of historical justice and creation of conditions for the all-round development of Soviet Germans will slow down this process."

Most Soviet Germans link their future with the restoration of the German-Volga Autonomous Republic, eliminated in 1941, Gaar emphasised.

"This would largely correspond to the interests of our country's two million Germans now scattered all over the Soviet Union," he added.

Soviet German Commission Chairman Interviewed

LD2107131389 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—"Our goal is to find an aceptable way of restoring the autonomy of Soviet Germans," Gennadiy Kiselev, chairman of the commission for the problems of Soviet Germans, set up at the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, told TASS.

The first meeting of the commission set the guidelines for future work, he said. Members of the commission will spend the next few days familiarising themselves with the materials of the commission and the "Revival" mass organisation, set up by the Germans. It will then determine places to be visited. This will enable them to evaluate the situation and the views of the Germans themselves and representatives of other nationalities, who either live nearby or in the territory, on which the autonomy is proposed to be established.

"The Soviet Germans live in many regions of the country," Gennadiy Kiselev noted. "Their number is highest in Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Kirgizia. Overall, there are nearly two million people of German descent in the USSR. The Autonomous Republic of Germans in the Volga region was liquidated under Stalin in August 1941."

"Working on the commission are lawyers, because the problem involves many legal aspects, representatives of various social groups, nationalities and republics including people who are familiar with the problem. They include, for example, G. Grout, chairman of the 'Revival' organization. Their presence is necessary and will help more objectively and fully take account of the interests of the German population."

"We will try not to drag out this matter because this issue has been long overdue," Gennadiy Kiselev continued. "We also are fully aware that our actions should do no harm to the interests of other peoples. I am convinced

that the forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on inter-ethnic relations will help foster a clear and considered political line in solving the problem."

TV Official Discusses Television, Perestroyka

LD2807083889 Moscow TASS in English
1504 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Television has got to be entertaining. Without this it will just not be able to fulfil its mission, Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said in an interview published in the latest issue of the GOVERNMENT HERALD.

"My program embodies the idea that television should serve perestroika more fully, help forward the processes of democratic renewal of our life and more actively work against red tape, conservatism, and everything that impedes our advance along the road of radical changes," he said.

"I believe that mass media, including radio and television, are now lacking skills and ability to reflect the constructive acts of perestroika and are lacking a positive example and an adroit presentation of those who undeterred by obstacles indefatigably introduce these changes on their own and by dint of their own energies."

The committee chairman admitted that the Central Television network was largely indebted to colleagues who work in regions and republics.

Central Television, he said, should become a rostrum for large- scale national contacts and cooperation of our multi-ethnic art, literature and culture.

"Not without active efforts of media, including radio and television, a negative image of ministers as overt conservatives and opponents of perestroika has been formed in the public mind.

"I think that now that the government has stood the test of competence in the USSR Supreme Soviet, we all should think how to protect ministers, to support their good intentions to work in a new way," the committee chairman said.

GOVERNMENT HERALD Interviews Cited

Light Industry Chairman

LD2707140489 Moscow TASS in English
0646 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—"Huge efforts should be made to lead the Soviet light industry out of staganation," Ludmila Dovletova, chairman of the State Light Industry Committee under the State Planning Committee of the USSR (Gosplan), said in an interview with the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD.

"In the first place it is necessary to see as soon as possible into the huge potential of the light industry, to bring to light causes of inefficiency, elaborate and implement measures to remove what impedes its development," she said.

"It is also essential to widely introduce at light industry enterprises cooperative and lease forms of organisation of labour, to establish concerns and associations, to put into play everything that helps boost the production of commodities and improve their quality," Dovletova said.

Forestry Chairman

LD2707140689 Moscow TASS in English
0647 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Scientific forest management can help lead the forest economy and ecological problems out of a blind alley, Aleksandr Isayev, newly-appointed chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Forestry, believes. A state all-union forest programme provides for non-destructive and efficient forest management, he said in an interview with the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD.

The State Committee for Forestry, Isayev believes, should be the sole master of the forests, while the Ministry of the Timber industry should lease them from it.

"Forests should be treated primarily from ecological positions, and the consumer approach should come next," he stressed.

Atomic Safety Chairman

LD2707083489 Moscow TASS in English
2237 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—In an interview with the GOVERNMENT HERALD, Vadim Malyshev who was recently appointed by the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) chairman of the USSR State Committee for Supervising Safe Conduct of Work in Industry and Atomic Power Engineering, described the tasks of his committee. Noting that his committee has to ensure safety of operating technology, he said that a task was set to reach the level of safety of atomic power plants in 1995-1996 and to bring down injury incidence in industry to similar indicators in developed capitalist countries. "I understand that the words 'injury incidence to the level of world standards' sounds very strange, But their content is prompted, above all, by the care for people, their life and health," Malyshev said.

The interview points out that it is possible to achieve world standards in technologies which use the energy of the atom by ensuring safety of nuclear power projects, reconstruction of operating projects and shutting down those which are outdated. "We should also help in purposeful development of technologies and equipment which ensure safety," said the chairman.

Statistics Chief

LD2607223689 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Vadim Kirichenko who was appointed by the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, said in an interview with the GOVERNMENT HERALD that "we should do away with the practice which developed over decades, when statistical data were aimed mostly at showing successes". "Statistics should be not only helpful in assessing the situation objectively but also have a critical edge and should not bypass difficulties and negative phenomena. In other words, they should give an objective and true picture of the state of our society." There is now the main condition for this: a desire of the country's political leadership to have objective indicators and not those which it would prefer so as to confirm correctness of its actions.

Kirichenko intends to begin his work at the new office by stepping up the analytical function of statistics. "We are interested not in accounting and getting some figures but in making analysis of them, which would contain elements of a forecast and possible consequences," he said. At the same time the most serious attention should be given to improving methods of statistical activities, to enlist scientists for this purpose, to master new forms of statistical observation and to develop technical facilities. Social statistics will need priority attention. "We shall develop such indicators which have not been used earlier in the USSR, as minimum for subsistence, the volume of consumption by population of material wealth and services and influence of changing prices on people's well-being."

The chairman pointed to the need of expanding openness of statistical information. "This last step will turn to be the most difficult for statistical organs, since it will destroy their monopoly," he said. "But national interests prod us to surmount this psychological barrier."

Yagodin on Teachers, Perestroyka

LD2807083289 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—"Almost half of all Soviet public education workers have not yet accepted the spirit of reforms, their humanistic and democratic essence," Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Public Education, said in an interview published in the latest issue of the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD.

About 40 per cent of teachers believe, he stressed, that changes should come either from "above" (additional pay, direct instructions for what to do and how), or from "below", from the pupils themselves who are expected to study better without the teacher's extra effort.

"This is impeding perestroika," the committee chairman said.

There are also many other causes: Insufficient material resources, the residual financing principle.

"Soviet schools now need efficient teachers of a new type—humanists and democrats, real pedagogues. Up-to-date programs and text-books are also needed," Yagodin said.

Electronics Industry Official

LD2607202489 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—The setting up of temporary creative teams from among specialists of allied industries for the development of new equipment will be in every way encouraged in the Soviet Electronic Industry, Vladislav Kolesnikov, Soviet minister of the electronic industry, said in an interview published in the latest issue of the GOVERNMENT HERALD.

He said the development of a Soviet electronic supercomputer with a capacity of one billion operations per second and other new development efforts for defence technology, medicine, and agriculture may serve as an example of the efficiency of such way of organising research and development.

Kolesnikov said that the Ministry was meeting defence-sector requirements for electronic equipment but that it still considerably lagged behind the United States and Japan in boosting the manufacture of electronic components for civilian uses.

Although the electronic industry development rate is higher than that in any other sector (117.5 per cent in the first six months of this year), it should be at least 50-100 per cent higher than it is now.

With this end in view, equipment should be renewed every two to three years. This can be done only on the basis of very high- powered electronic engineering and a rise in the production of superpure materials, the minister said.

Interior Minister Bakatin

LD2607104389 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin described the law and order situation in the country as very acute, in an interview published in a special issue of the GOVERNMENT HERALD which focuses on members of the new Soviet Government.

Bakatin pointed to the predominance of extremely negative trends in the dynamics, character and structure of crime. The crime growth rate remains exceptionally high. The minister gives the following data: during the

first six months of this year 1.1 million crimes were recorded, with about 170,000 of them being grave crimes. The increase was 32.1 and 39.9 per cent respectively as compared to the similar period of last year.

The character and structure of crime is notable for an increased aggressiveness and cruelty of acts and growth of mercenary, group and organised crime. Interethnic conflicts have become exacerbated in a number of areas of the country.

The crime situation, Bakatin went on to say, reflects the economic and social crisis phenomena as well as the complexity of social renewal. Law enforcement agencies have failed to work out neutralising legal measures in time and to ensure prompt reactions. The legislative basis has also far from promoted effective efforts to combat new manifestations of crime.

In order to rectify the situation, the minister said, efforts are being intensified to combat organised and street crime, grave crimes, theft, embezzlement, and bribery.

Seventy thousand culprits have been held apprehended for profiteering, and criminal proceedings have been instituted against more than 30,000 of them. The search and investigatory services of the militia are being consolidated.

"One may and must respond with force to lawlessness and violence but with force which relies on law and the people's will and which defends democracy," Bakatin emphasised.

Historian Views Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact

LD2907152389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0745 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Scheduled program "The Victors—Toward the 45th Anniversary of Victory"; including interview with Prof D.A. Volkogonov, head of the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The more time that separates us from the joyous day of the victory of the Soviet people—the main, decisive event of World War II—the more attentively we are looking at the facts, documents, and eyewitness accounts that remove the blank spots of history. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What new pages or new insights of military history are there now in relation to that period?

[Volkogonov] Historians generally believe that World War II started with fascist Germany's attack on Poland on 1 September 1939. [passage omitted]

Naturally, questions arise on the subject. Today, it is often said, both here and in the West, that the Nonaggression Pact between the Soviet Union and fascist Germany of 23 August 1939 was essentially the launchpad, the push that opened the gate to World War II, to the chariot of war....

[Reporter, interrupting] The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

[Volkogonov] ...which is sometimes just called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. Apart from that, we know that 1 month and 3 days later, on 28 September, a treaty of friendship and concerning the frontier between the Soviet Union and Germany was signed in Moscow, also by Ribbentrop and Molotov. So, today a correct understanding of the situation—how it took shape then—and an appraisal of these diplomatic agreements are very important to an understanding of the whole situation.

I would like to say straightaway that, behind these treaties, there stands a great deal that we should condemn—connected with secret bargaining and a lack of openness. But, at the same time, we must not lose sight of the circumstance that there was an extremely complicated situation at the time. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the question arose that we could not fight Germany directly: Poland was between us. The permission of the Polish government was needed for the passage of Soviet troops. [passage omitted]

I must say that, among the important steps at that time was the deployment of troops, Soviet troops, in the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. It is sometimes said that it was an illegal act. Well, it is for historians and politicians to reach a verdict on the subject. But today it is clear that, at that time, it was a matter of the very existence of the Soviet state. It was, as it was at the time of the Brest peace, a matter of choosing: if the Soviet troops had not gone in when Germany had already shattered the Polish Army, the Germans would simply have moved 250-300 km closer to our frontier. [passage omitted]

I also have something else to say on the subject. We shall clearly have a special topic when we talk about Baltic issues. That is a special topic. But I would like to say this: That what we condemn today is attempts to mark out the zones of interest, the zones of influence of Germany and the Soviet Union. In that respect, the Baltic area was divided up: Lithuania was a German zone, while Latvia and Estonia were Soviet. But it must not be forgotten that if the Soviet Union had, at that time, just stood idly by as various states were taken over, then I am pretty sure Germany would have been unable to curb its appetite, and the Baltic area would have been the next step. [passage omitted] But the deployment of troops, the establishment of Soviet rule in the republics, and their voluntary entry into the Soviet Union...

[Reporter, interrupting] In 1940.

[Volkogonov]...in 1940 were, to a considerable extent, predetermined by the will of the people. There were no communists in the parliaments there. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] That was in 1940, so....

[Volkogonov, interrrupting] Yes, I just wanted to say—I am coming to the end—that we are all, of course, very concerned—not just the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—that Stalin brought them many of those methods from which not only those peoples suffered, but also Russian, Ukrainians, everyone. The pact was necessary, but, I stress, its moral purport is very tarnished. But later, 1 month and 3 days afterward, as I said, Stalin made a gross political mistake by concluding a treaty of friendship and concerning the frontier. Just imagine: a treaty of friendship with fascist Germany! [passage omitted]

I think that history has one fundamental feature: It values only the truth. No matter how much people try to hide or camouflage the truth, it is ultimately impossible to keep it locked up. We know of many examples where individual documents have lain hidden for decades in archives or safes. There comes a time when they reemerge.

So I think that today it is important to examine all these things very calmly, and not to use them for inciting any nationalist or, I would say, any interethnic dissension. All these things must be looked at calmly. I recently came across in the press a demand for those agreements to be repudiated, for the pact to be publicly and officially denounced. But that surprises me, because the pact, as well as the treaty of 28 September, was repudiated by Hitler himself on 22 June 1941. [passage omitted]

Floods Cover Vladivostok Maritime Area

LD2807192189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Here is a report from Vladivostok. Floods have covered almost the whole territory of the maritime area. The water level in some rivers has risen by 4 meters. Forty population centers have been flooded. Many bridges have been destroyed. In the city of Partizansk over 2,000 houses have been flooded. Kray local commissions are working round the clock to fight the floods. Measures have been taken to rescue people and to evacuate children from summer camps. Deliveries of food to the population centers blocked by water have been organized. In a word, a rather serious situation has arisen there. [passage omitted]

Russian-Language Latvian Newspaper Published

LD2607143689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Summary] The first edition of a new newspaper entitled LATVIYA SEVODNYA [Latvia Today] in Russian was published today.

Baptists Hold General Meeting in Tbilisi

LD2907163789 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Tbilisi July 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Devi Berdzenishvili:

Week-long meetings of members of the Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists with the general public ended in Tbilisi, the capital of the Soviet Transcaucasian republic of Georgia, on Saturday.

At the meetings, which were held under "The Bible, God, and Man" motto, Baptists spoke of the fundamentals of their teaching, and openly polemised with non-believers and adherents of the traditional orthodox religion.

Until recently, such meetings had been impossible for the Baptist community members, of whom there are not more than ten thousand in Georgia now.

The community which recently marked its 120th jubilee had been constantly subjected to oppression, including that on the part of the orthodox church.

Some five years ago a person's affiliation with the sect gave rise to public distrust and could serve as a serious obstacle to his or her career, as was, for example, the case involving architect Aleksandr Katsitadze who was dismissed from his job after people learned that he attended meetings in the Baptists' prayer house. At present Katsitadze has been reinstated in his job and remains a member of the Baptist community.

"The democratisation policy adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev has radically changed attitude in the country towards believers, and towards Baptists, too. Everyone of us can now actively participate in social life and openly go to the church", Nodar Gvirikashvili, senior presbyter of the Tbilisi Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists, told TASS.

Services in this church are held in four languages—Georgian, Russian, Armenian, and Ossetian.

Kvirikashvili is also in charge of the functioning of Baptist churches in other cities of Georgia. There are eight of them now. Two churches, in the cities of Rustavi and Gori, opened during the period of perestroika over the past three years.

Mufti Mamayusupov on Religious Issues

LD1107202489 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] People's deputies answer your questions:

Participating in today's talk is Mufti Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, chairman of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and member of the Supreme Soviet. We would like to start today's episode with

excerpts from the letter of Algerian listener Ibrahim Fetouh, who said: I tried through your programs and also from the other media news to follow the work of the first people's deputies congress. I never heard that any attention was given during the congress to the issues of religious persons.

Our correspondent, Nikolay Gaynikov, commenced his interview with the mufti from this letter:

[Begin recording] [Gaynikov] The congress did not consider the issues of religion. Would you say some words about this matter?

[Mamayusupov] In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. God almighty to be praised, prayers and peace be on the best of his creatures, Muhammad, and his followers and family. I wanted to raise the issue of some of the problems of the believers and the faith. However I was not able to address the congress. Bishop Aleksiy [name indistinct] had the opportunity to address the congress, but he also did not talk about this issue. I think that the coming congresses will definitely discuss these issues, especially as the Supreme Soviet is now about to issue a new law about the (?issue) of religions. This is inevitable because believers in the Soviet Union are waiting with great interest for the issue of this new law. They know the details of this law very well. This law will be great news for believers. It will give them more freedom. There will be freedom of religious education. There will be [words indistinct]. I think that in the coming congress, in about (1 year), religious issues must be discussed. The issues of freedom of religion and about other religious issues. This will be in interests of the people and in the interest of applying [word indistinct] and democracy.

[Ganikov] [words indistinct].

[Mamayusupov] If I have the chance to address the coming congrss in fall, I will then raise some of the issues which interest believers. For instance the issue of religious books. The issue of religious books is very important now in our country, because many people would like to know about religion and its history, and to know about the rites and other things; however they cannot find the books which answer their questions. Therefore there must be general permission to publish and print the religious books neeeded by believers.

I also want an Islamic magazine and an Islamic newspaper for people so that they know about religious issues and can find the answers to their religious questions. I also have in my program spiritual and religious education for the general public. This is because we, the clergymen, consider that there are some bad habits which have become widespread in our society due to the absence of religious and spiritual education. This results to a great extent in spreading crime, drugs alcohol, and adultery. All these issues [words indistinct] religious and spiritual education. This is why we would like all people to be interested in this.

We must start the education [word indistinct]. Because the family is the elementary unit in society. If families are strong, then our society will be strong. Religious, spirtual and cultural education are not restricted only to the family, because the child goes out on to the street and goes to school and other places. Therefore every department must cooperate in this. The beginning should be in the family, then in the school, then in the streets, then in the institutions work places and other places.

There are other things which directly affect people, such as the radio and television newspapers, magazines, novels and films etc. These things greatly affect education. We would like and demand that all these things [words indistinct]. Unfortunately, these things tended toward deviation, whether it was the television, magazines or books. They started to show impolite things, which might affect the education of youth, and people in general badly. This is what we do not want.

I wanted to raise these matters at the first congress, but unfortunately this matter was not discussed completely, or well received.

This matter was only raised by the famous writer [name indistinct] and the academic [name indistinct]. I do not think that anyone else raised this matter. I wanted this matter to be a primary one, because deviations in economics and politics and everything else stem from the absence of correct cultural education. If a person is impolite and uneducated and has no spiritual and religious education, then he might deviate from the right path, whether he is an economist, politician or soldier or anything else. This is why I consider that the education of people is very important and everyone should be interested in it. [end recording]

Muslim Cleric Lauds Upcoming Law on Religion

LD1407220389 Moscow TASS in English
1714 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Baku July 14 TASS—Kurban-Bairam is a [words indistinct] today in a spirited and joyous atmosphere in the Soviet Transcaucasian republic of Azerbaydzhan. The central mosque of Taza-Pir was the venue of a Friday Namaz and prayer service in the course of which Sheik ul-Ifbu Allahshukyur Pasha-Zadeh addressed believers. The head of the spiritual administration of Transcaucasian Moslems called upon his parishioners to be kinder toward each other, give alms to the sick and the needy and contribute, in keeping with their potentials, toward the welfare of society as a whole and the wellbeing of each and every individual.

The sheik, who was elected people's deputy, told TASS in a conversation, that the believers welcomed the holy days with full confidence [word indistinct] the morrow thanks to the Soviet Government which granted people new possibilities for observing holy rites. "The law on the freedom of conscience has not been promulgated in the USSR as yet, but I am confident that it is going to be more democratic and [words indistinct] Pasha-Zadeh said. We all—Moslems, followers of other religions and atheists—have to live together. Perestroika is like a new building which is to house the extensive family of Soviet nations, and it depends on each and every one of us what kind of foundations we shall lay down and how we shall provide joy and accord in this common home. May the Allah bless us in our hearts and our good intentions."

Theorists Debate CPSU's Role in Society

18001321 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 4 Jul 89 p 3

[Discussion article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Malyutin, instructor of the Chair of Party Building at the Moscow Higher Party School, and Yuriy Chabanov, head of the Ideological Department of the Sevastopolskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, city of Moscow: "Overcoming the Belt of Alienation"]

[Text] The place and role of the CPSU in society, the course of perestroyka in the party, its strategy and tactics, and the need to conduct a political dialogue with the politically aware masses have been the subject of heated discussion at recent CPSU Central Committee plenums. This topic came up many times in the speeches of deputies at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. How are the new methods finding their way into the life of party organs? What are the prospects for this process? Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Malyutin, instructor of the Chair of Party Building at the Moscow Higher Party School, and Yuriy Chabanov, head of the Ideological Department of the Sevastopolskiy Rayon CPSU Committee in the city of Moscow, search for answers to these questions in today's political dialogue.

Mikhail Malyutin: What is the party today? I would classify the more or less scientific judgments about this into two groups. I would put in the first group the statements of political scientists and sociologists who are not narrow specialists on this issue, whereas in the second belong the judgments of specialists on party building proper, who are incorporated in one way or another in the structures of party hierarchy. The common opinion of the former boils down to the CPSU, in the form in which it has been operating for a long time now, not being a party in the general, conventional meaning of the word. It is not even the etymology that is at issue: party—part. The CPSU claimed integrity and all-inclusiveness, the leading and guiding role literally in everything. The point here is not that there were no political rivals. The party may exist in the singular, provided there are different points of view, different tendencies within the party itself. From the late 1920's and early 1930's on, when conformity of opinion became dominant in the country, this opportunity was done for.

The opinion of professional researchers of the CPSU is different from the quite recent, so to speak official, point of view which they defended: All that we have had is 70 years of great victories. Nonetheless, they are mainly retaining norm-based positions. The Leninist principles of the party were distorted for a long time; however, what has been going on in the past 4 years is a restoration of these principles, and the party resolved to do it on its own initiative.

However, both the former and the latter agree that at present the renaissance of the party as a political organization is underway.

As I see it, there is no other way. Either the party is reborn as the integrating link in the political system—that is, different points of view will be freely manifested in it, conformity of opinion will be genuinely brought to an end, and it will come to relations of constructive dialogue and partnership with other social forces which exist in real life—or else one form of authoritarianism or another will be what remains for us. From all signs, this will become clear very soon because, while the reserve of political stability is still sufficiently great, we cannot say this about economic and social stability at present anymore.

Yuriy Chabanov: To my mind the party primarily represents the communists having been and being held accountable for everything, beginning with the Foodstuffs Program and on to the decoration of streets. As I see it this situation is thus far unavoidable. This is why at present I see no other opportunity for overcoming the pre-crisis situation rapidly than for the party to retain at the transitional stage the functions of the managing rather than governing party. This is objective reality, and it is naive to look for the cause of it in the conservatism of the staff of the apparatus. In the process, the search for methods and means of political work alternative to those in the past is capable of both changing the place of the party in society, and bringing it to the implementation of perestroyka within its own self.

I am convinced that if we were to poll the inhabitants of an urban or rural rayon about what they mean by the word "raykom" [rayon party committee], we would learn that the raykom is the place where the party apparatus works. At best they will confirm that the raykom is the elected leading body of the local party organization. Virtually no one would say that the raykom is the home of a communist, a place where he feels as free and independent from the ideological and spiritual point of view as he does at home. After all, if we are serious about the consolidation of communists on a new basis, the party committees should become these very homes for communists. The plan of action by a given party organization should be worked out here on a quite informal basis.

The very first steps are being made at present in this direction. For example, in our rayon they have been made by establishing a continuous constructive dialogue with the active communists who are trying to pursue the party line in various independent organizations and who belong to an interclub party group. It is another matter that, putting it bluntly, this line is received in our traditional interpretation, and by our equally traditional party aktiv membership, with difficulty, and does not fit party documents very well because there are simply no such documents at present on an entire array of the most acute political and ideological issues.

However, if we were to talk about party unity that allows for the most varied points of view we should make a reservation concerning the attitude of communists toward the the CPSU Program and Statute. Paradoxical as it is, these documents are not at all mentioned in the numerous debates, discussions, and arguments. Why? Let us look at the situation with the last elections when, despite a clear and lucid party platform stated in the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, a lot of communist-candidates appeared who, putting it mildly, called in their pre-election programs for what the party program did not include and, I am convinced, could not include. The only thing that could interfere with the application of the statutory principle of democratic centralism in this instance was the fact that democratic mechanisms were not set in motion in preparing the party platform for the elections: The document was not discussed in party organizations, the opinion of all communists was not taken into account in the platform, and no party discussion was held.

Mikhail Malyutin: At present the party represents, shall we say, a quite multifaceted organization as far as the ideological and program stands of many of its members are concerned. Judging by articles in magazines, pre-election speeches, and letters published in the mass media, there are those among communists who, for example, most vigorously support and spread the ideas of the reactionary "Pamyat" organization—the principles of autocracy by the nomenklatura, national purity, and ideology with an admixture even of orthodoxy.

However, this process is logical: Since our society is not homogenous, the party also turned out to be not homogenous. Various sociopolitical blocs are formed in the party that enter into complex relationships among themselves and with the structures existing in society. The cases of pre-election campaigns by Yeltsin and candidates-investigators for particularly important cases show that the line between the party and society is becoming quite fluid. At present the groups in the party are trying to use informal social structures and informal leaders in their interests, whereas the most evolved and vigorous movements are trying to use the party mechanism in their interests, which is what we have at present in, say, the Baltic area.

Yuriy Chabanov: I believe that the present-day situation, in the course of which the demand to determine the boundaries of what is allowed in party discussion is advanced ever more vigorously, is dictated by the fact that it has become a reality for the communists to live and act on their own theoretical and ideological account. It is already impossible now to pluck quotations from the classics and party documents and explain your actions by them. However, attempts to act on the basis of your own interpretation of the party line may bring about a divergence from the point of view of the party apparatus. The complication is that once again the communist himself must discern this divergence because a sufficiently clear definition of the party line in this regard is so far absent from the party documents.

I can understand a person who, disagreeing with the main principles of activity of the CPSU, surrenders his party membership card and continues his political activity at his own risk. However, I cannot agree with a person continuing to remain in the party having parted ways with it on issues of principle, despite the payment of party membership dues being the only thing which binds him to the party.

Mikhail Malyutin: Still, what is the reason for the contradiction between some of the statements of communists and the CPSU Program and Statute, which has recently been mentioned so frequently, and the interpretation of exactly where, beyond which line such a contradiction occurs, which is not nearly as broad and tolerant as you, Yuriy Andreyevich, have just shown? To my mind, the reason should be sought in the absence of protection of the minority right to its own opinion, protection ensured by the statute. This is why the very attempt to state and defend such an opinion is interpreted as contradicting the statute.

A strange situation emerges: The conformity of opinion in the party in the old form no longer exists, but no mechanisms protecting party pluralism have been worked out. This, in turn, provides an opportunity for the broadest possible interpretation of both the right of a communist to his personal opinion and the confines of this right beyond which incompatibility with party membership occurs.

This is the case with many attitudes. Only the attitude toward Marxism-Leninism is going to be the absolutely obvious exception in this matter. If the party elects for itself the path of renaissance on a Marxist-Leninist foundation, this is where it should draw the lines of consolidation beyond which it is impossible to retreat. The only problem is that at times Marxism-Leninism is by and large interpreted as meaning completely different things.

Yuriy Chabanov: The need for every communist to exist at his own ideological and theoretical expense prompts us to determine our attitude toward the system of Marxist-Leninist education. This system was developed

and has existed in order to help the people and, if need be, make the people study and accept as guidance for their actions the statements of yet another leader. The situation has changed radically. The newspapers with speeches by the general secretary and materials of the Central Committee plenums are read and reread with pencil in hand, are discussed in buses and at meetings, and are compared with the publications of magazines as different as OGONEK and NASH SOVREMENNIK. All of this is analyzed and discussed without urging, and everyone works out his own view of the world on the basis of it. The situation has changed, but the reform of political education has contributed nothing essential to this. Traditional methodological circulars are still being prepared by raykoms and gorkoms [CPSU city committees]. If the lecturer is intelligent he talks about things that are not at all included in methodological circulars. If he is not very intelligent, the ritual in his classes differs little from the time of stagnation.

If our system of political education is a political school it should be placed on a professional foundation. It is necessary to cleanse it of amateurishness no matter what name it appears under—party assignment, or whatever. We are now trying to implement this system. Employees of an Academy of Sciences Institute "contract" to conduct the seminar of a plant and work with it.

Furthermore, we should include classes on the development of political culture in the system of Marxist-Leninist education. To this end, we are switching classes to the same club forms of work. One of our latest seminars in the raykom is an example. At the request of our students, we simulated at the seminar the situation of a "Pamyat" meeting, stated the ideas of this organization from the podium, and invited students to take issue. We will consider the goals of political schooling attained to a degree if, as a result of such work, they turn to the pertinent works of Lenin and to Stalin's interpretation of the nationality issue, without which it is impossible to understand its present status.

It is important to understand that making the system of Marxist-Leninist education professional and creating real political schools is absolutely necessary at present, and that this is an objective requirement. Otherwise, perestroyka will drown in unprofessional, incompetent political actions, including those of a mass nature.

Mikhail Malyutin: I think that in determining the status of the party as of now, we should dwell on the reforms that have been proposed and what they have actually resulted in. At present various party publications are talking with increasing candor about our being unable to implement completely the truly revolutionary program of transforming the party advanced at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The 4 years of party reform with its Leninist orientation have virtually not invalidated a single Stalin or Brezhnev party instruction.

There still are no contested elections of first secretaries; nothing has happened to the nomenklatura principle. Given this situation we, perhaps, should not be surprised by the fact that people have gone out into the squares and begun to set up informal organizations, and that many communists turned out to be among them.

The most alarming thing is that the sinusoidal development of political activity of the masses is precipitated by the reforms from "on high" (elections to the party conference and the Congress of People's Deputies, constitutional reforms), but no feedback system has become operational thus far. Traditionalism and moderation of the reports-and-elections campaign in the party led about 2 months later to the sharpest struggle at the elections, a certain tension in the political situation, in which the attempts of the apparatus to provide management only exacerbated the contradictions. As a result, we are facing a situation in which the party undertakes certain steps according to a plan conceived beforehand, but not in a dialogue with the masses, which sometimes brings about quite unexpected consequences.

The structuring and organization of independent movements is proceeding slowly. While remaining chaotic and essentially populist, they will be no closer to democracy than authoritarian structures of the purest hew. However, the apparatus is slow to arrive at the new methods of work as a result of party reforms. Unfortunately, this preserves the probability of returning to authoritarianism as the method of resolving the contradictions that have arisen and become more acute. Meanwhile, the experience of the Baltic area shows that at present there is no peaceful way out of the situation except for mediation by the party.

As I see it, there will be no change as long as structural changes in the apparatus and cadre movement proceed independently of each other and leave the foundations of party activities unchanged, as long as new forms of organization of communists and non-party members are not put in operation.

Yuriy Chabanov: When talking about reforms in the party, we customarily separate the reform of the apparatus and the reform of elected organs. More than enough has been said recently about the party apparatus. In this instance, we are following in the footsteps of the evolution of our attitude toward economic managers. At first, we carried out without argument everything they ordered. Then we began to criticize and replace managers. Now it turns out that things may get off the ground when you change bosses, but in principle the situation will not change, because the system of economic management has not changed.

Certainly, there are different people in the party apparatus, as well as among economic managers. Well, we may replace some employees with others, but we will arrive at the same conclusion that may be already made at present—that the apparatus, by definition, is a naked

function, that it will do whatever it is held accountable for and is responsible for. Meanwhile, there are no changes in this matter: The apparatus still must be accountable for everything plus the unexpected situations that democratization and perestroyka continuously and in a variety of versions generate.

For example, the thesis was advanced to the effect that members of the elected organ should manage the employees of the apparatus rather than have the apparatus command the elected organ. How is this to be carried out in practice? The elected organ should finally try to really lead the party organization of a rayon, city, and so forth.

Still, specifically how can this be assured? For example, what are we trying to do in this sphere? As a raykom member, I belong to the ideological commission of the Sevastopolskiy Rayon CPSU Committee. We have formed sector groups from among the members of the elected organ. One of the sectors, the most serious one, is what used to be referred to as work in the place of residence. Previously, party work amounted to the work of the apparatus with party organizations of the labor collectives. The population of the rayon did not know us, and we did not know it. Now members of the elected organ are going to work with the populace to help it develop and establish self-management in the rayon and prepare an actual operating system of local soviets. We analyze the experience available, conduct consultations, and try to prompt independent organizations to do such work. At the same time, this is going to be a preparation for elections to the local soviets.

Dialogue with independent political organizations and the work by communists within these organizations is the second most important sector of work of the ideological commission. The contact has been established; there is mutual understanding, though these relations are still far from harmonious. Certainly, members of informal organizations can also have their grievances; there are many things in the work of the apparatus and the raykom which they do not like. However, certain things leave us bewildered. Even before the 19th party conference we agreed that the members of informal organizations would prepare a draft for the separation of party and soviet power at the rayon level. It did not go beyond the talking stage. Last summer we suggested that they work out their own scenario for forming the party committee. There was agreement, but no result.

Mikhail Malyutin: The dialogue with informal organizations is not a panacea and an end unto itself. Exaggerating the role of informal organizations in political life is as erroneous as the pejorative evaluations of the role of the party apparatus. We could talk in much detail and for a long time about the shortcomings, high-sounding nonsense, lack of seriousness, and the struggle for power and primacy in informal organizations. By now we can simulate typical ways of development of informal movements depending on the position of party organs, regional issues, the status of the nationality issue, and so forth. It is more important to determine the trend and main contradictions in this sphere. Flexibility and openness threaten the emerging political movements with unscrupulousness and destruction. As soon as a given organization begins to define its slogans, direction, and principles, as soon as it makes itself heard and rides the crest of the wave, the influx of new members, who may be very far from the founders of the organization and may hold their own views of many things, may change its direction quite significantly. This is the present-day situation, and this makes the search for constructive methods of work with these organizations extremely difficult.

Yuriy Chabanov: The situation at present is such that the only slogan that is equally weighty for various social entities and capable of consolidating the most varied forces is the orientation toward specific deeds and actual results, the working out of general principles of work of informal movements. At present a well-conceived and balanced law on social organizations is very much needed in this sphere.

My experience in communicating and working with politicized associations has brought me both hope and disappointment, at times annoyance and bewilderment. Nonetheless, I am convinced that social, economic, and political stabilization is possible along only one path—that of a broad dialogue by the CPSU with independent associations of active citizens, with the movements of people who support and wish to advance perestroyka.

Nature of Today's Communist Outlined

PM3107130389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

["Polemical Remarks" by Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Kudashkin, senior scientific associate of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute: "What Should a Communist Be Like Today?"]

[Text] The party and every Communist today face the task of renewal and perestroyka. This is the only way to boost prestige. But are we Communists clearly aware of what has to be changed and what has to be abandoned? Not too clearly, it seems to me. For example, nowadays we can read in the pages of the party press—primarily PRAVDA—a discussion on the problem of "what must a Communist be like in the present conditions," and yet norms which, in my view, have already become outdated are at times positively advocated.

Take, for example, the habit in past decades of talking about the party like some sort of totem, the voice automatically lapsing into an impassioned tone. During the Stalin and Brezhnev eras, the top used to prime the little people below: "The party is such a radiance, such a nimbus, that it is impossible to look up—you would be blinded. When talking about the party, it must be done in the same way as when talking about Allah—in no

other way but prostrate on the ground." And it managed to implant the idea. But is this a cause of joy? Only too many Communists in our country started resembling fourth-graders in shorts, prepared at any moment to salute and respond: "Always Prepared!" It is this unthinking attitude that promotes the blissful slumber of stagnation.

I have read through responses to the article "Why Do You Need a Party Membership Card?" They cite quite a few wonderful episodes from party members' lives. The authors of these remarks seem to tell us: "This is what you should be like." What should we be like?

Ideas about the purpose of Communists have been building up over the decades. During the pre-revolution past, it was exceptionally important to forge a Bolshevik type who was unyielding in the face of the privations and even sufferings which he had to endure more often than not. In the conditions of Stalin's regime, when spy-mania was artificially whipped up, the idea being implanted was that the class struggle would become fiercer as we drew nearer to socialism, and life was depicted as the field for unseen but fierce battles. In these conditions there apparently developed the need for the stoic Communist, a "tough nut" to withstand the conditions created through the fault of the "enemies of the people."

In my view, however, it is perfectly obvious that the "specialized training" of fanatical Communists is of little use in the conditions of the new times, when there is more of a need for paritywith the average worker [rabotnik] from the civilized sector of the planet in terms of his degree of expertise and qualifications.

Yes, the treatment of the party topic for years on end solely in the form of apologias achieved its aim: Communists got accustomed to speaking in declamatory tones about the party member's mission and his position among people. It may be pleasant to hear, but this alone does not boost the party's potential as a leading force. A lenient and easygoing regime softens up the individual. Therein obviously lies the reason why party cadres have for the time being "lost" the streets and squares. A nonparty spirit dominates there, a spirit which, though it may not be revulsionary, is harsh in its appraisals of the party itself. Should Communists fear it? I do not think so. Because their own self-criticism follows approximately the same lines. But think of how many party "vigilantes" are still to be found, perceiving the most terrible things in criticism of the party at rallies: Almost an attempt to deprive it of power. Indeed, fear hath a hundred eyes!

Here is an example: When delivering a lecture on the democratization of internal party life to students at the Minsk Oblast School for Lecturers, the author of these lines briefed those present on the diversity of views on the problem of the party's leading role. On the next day a group of officials from the Minsk Oblast party committee Ideological Department, headed by Secretary V. Atroshchenko, somewhat nervously reminded me that it is apparently not useful to publicize the diversity of opinions. It is necessary to arm people with a single clear-cut directive in order to avoid mental confusion.

Contemporary life and the practice of perestroyka abound with what people call "unforeseen" situations. Many people have already clearly realized: A mind fettered by dogmas and stereotypes is incapable of flexible response to such situations. In the course of tumultuous phenomena in social life, such a mind constantly catches glimpses of subversive actions and sedition.

Let us take a look at just one aspect of our life today. To start with, let us ask this question: How can a Communist who produces the largest percentage of theoretically acceptable above-plan output on obsolete equipment be described as a genuine leader, as a worker marching in the vanguard? In my view, this cannot be done. He would be a genuine leader if, in addition to scoring excellent production indicators, he were to reckon with the need to struggle for the renewal of production and for taking it to the advanced frontiers of technological progress.

But it is in this struggle that he clashes with hidebound leadership, grapples with some boss or another at a general meeting, and sounds the alarm so loud that it can be heard even in Moscow. And it often happens that he is tagged "quarrelsome," "troublemaker," "undisciplined." Contemporary life is still such that a party members who is "over-diligent" in the struggle for state interests is more than likely to be rewarded by his boss with a long string of negative adjectives which constitute his new and distorted appraisal, and he loses his reputation as a Communist marching in the vanguard. Is this fair? Of course not.

Incidentally, the press is today conducting an increasingly alarming discussion on the reason why the party's "fighters" are losing battles with informals and get defeated in arguments. There are the occasional flashes which indicate that the truth has been discovered. For example, I feel that K. Kondyrin was correct in drawing attention to the hypertrophy of organizational work in contrast with theoretical [ideynaya] and ideological work (PRAVDA 14 June). The "organizer's" thinking is axiomatic, specific, precise, but at the same time hobbled and fettered by sundry combinations of readymade rigid verbal constructions and formulas. The time has come for the Communist-ideologist, the ideological fighter, to come to the forefront.

During a lecture in Moscow's Political Enlightenment House, I had an opportunity to hear an exceptionally skilled professor-propagandist. He came under a barrage of questions, rejoinders, and what seemed to be disheartenningly caustic remarks. But he proved to be a past master in answering questions and parrying thrusts, displayed an almost natural (but nonetheless theatrical) enthusiasm, and—whenever necessary—moved on to

counterattack the audience. At the end of the lecture he received solid applause. But after the lecture I heard people expressing dissatisfaction because the professor had upheld positions which people somehow intuitively found to be somewhat out of date. And even the Political Enlightenment House consultant and seminar organizer told me afterwards: "The professor is certainly good, a brilliant master of the spoken word. But we will not be inviting him any more. He is an orator from the time of stagnation..."

This, in my view, is the key to the puzzle. Propaganda workers and each and every Communist today must carry within themselves the spirit, temperament, and energy of "foremen" of perestroyka.

An ideological fighter for truly revolutionary perestroyka will be in a position to defend the party apparatus from attacks and wrongful accusations if the specific party apparatus he is familiar with comprises worthy Communists. But he is not going to refrain from actually criticizing the party apparatus if he knows for sure that the ones who matter on it are from among those pharisees who, for example, stigmatize protectionism and bribery while they themselves put their pals in cushy jobs and are not averse to receiving "valuable gifts." A Communist now fighting to enhance the party's prestige is implacable toward hypocrisy and falsehood regardless of consequences.

This is precisely the kind of courage that many Communists lack. In the course of conversations and even debates which are plentiful in our life today, one clearly notices a rather widespread and alarming aspect of many Communists' character: Lack of faith in the successful outcome of the struggle, a sense of helplessness before the forces of routine and falsity [krivda] within the party. During an official business trip—once again to Minsk—the secretary of a rayon party committee, having heard some of my reflections which were intended to generate debate, told me:

"There are quite a few brilliant personalities among apparatus workers. There are, I firmly assert this. I am also a personality. But for the time being, the state of affairs is this. Today I take an extraordinary step, something to which the apparatus is not accustomed. Tomorrow, literally following the demands of principledness, I criticize a department chief of a higher-ranking party committee. Then I submit an innovative plan to transform the committee's work... The stability of my position within the apparatus will be seriously shaken. Let me say this openly: My 'future' as rayon party committee secretary depends on two persons—the chief of the Organizational-Party and Cadres Work Department and the oblast party committee secretary."

I think that my objection was, strictly speaking, correct: A Communist is found wanting if he reduces everything to the point where he arrives at such a militancy-sapping [demobilizuyushchiy] "truth of life." It is a Communist's duty to struggle to overcome "unwritten laws." It is a different matter whether he is capable of venturing to struggle against party routine.

The 28th party congress is approaching. And so it seems that every mature Communist today, without any prompting from aside, must work out ways to improve his Statute and must give thought to ways to amend and update various provisions and articles of the party Statute, to new forms which ought to be introduced in it. Given such an approach, that which was discussed at the CPSU Central Committee conference of first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and of kray and oblast party committees will occur sooner rather than later: Substantial renewal of the party and its emergence from the "state of siege."

There is plenty of scope for questing. Let us ponder the Communist's rights and obligations, the package of virtues which the Statute instructs Communists to develop and cultivate within themselves. It is of course important for a Communist to set a personal example in labor, to be a champion of everything that is new and advanced, to play an active part in social life, and so on. But why not instruct him to also give some thought to his own spiritual complexion?

Is evidence of this not to be seen in a facet of internal party relations which came to light at the recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies? For example, attention was repeatedly drawn to the fact that many rank-and-file Communist deputies from oblasts and republics suffered from the paralyzing effect of the eagle eye of the delegation leader—the first secretary. Just one sidelong glance—and the hand which would so willingly be raised in support of some proposal or other feels as if it is heavier than lead. Only very few managed to overcome this force of overbearing pressure.

In a nutshell, Communists who still feel nostalgia for pre-perestroyka relations must finally realize that the time has advanced irreversibly and that the country and the party are now in a new objective reality. That to which some people frenziedly objected in the past is the norm of life today. If we were to mentally take some fragments of current discussions of an internal party nature a few decades back, it would become perfectly clear that terrifying labels would be tagged on the participants in the argument.

This is not happening today, and this is very good. I disagree with the idea of that same K. Kondyrin, author of the article in PRAVDA, that "today there are grounds to speak of manifestations of a broad range of various overtones of petty bourgeois ideology not only in the minds but also in the practical actions and behavior of people, including Communists." The prevailing situation makes it necessary first to overcome the crisis within society and the party, to get things straight as it were, by completely halting the "production of political labels."

Being a Communist today means yearning for the party's renewal. Soviet people owe a lot of good things to the Communist Party's leadership. But the burden of past mistakes is also a reality which the party recognizes. Undergoing renewal means making the party considerably stronger than it was decades ago, and at the same time totally eradicating and overcoming the roots and seeds of past negative phenomena: Acquiescence in the personality cult and breaches of legality, blind faith of the Communist masses in their top leadership, and the fact that the latter is not subject to any controls.

Copyright Agency Official on USSR Practices

LD2807221189 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—"The democratisation process in the field of the copyrights protection is one specific proof of the steady fulfillment by the USSR of the Vienna agreements which are a logical follow-up on the Helsinki CSCE process", Georgiy Ter-Gazaryants said at a news conference Friday.

The first deputy chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency said that the USSR is now prepared to joint the Bern convention on the protection of literary works and works of art.

To join the convention, the Soviet Union needs to make several amendments in its domestic legislation, Ter-Gazaryants noted. The All-Union Copyright Agency took a vigorous part in elaborating proposals for amendments and supplements to the section of the fundamental principles of civil legislation of the USSR and the Soviet Union republics, devoted to copyright. They will be considered by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The draft submitted to parliament envisages the abrogation of all restrictions of authors' rights, which are inadmissible from the point of view of international conventions. For instance, it cancels a free (without the author's consent and without paying a remuneration to him) use of published works in television and radio programmes, in films and newspapers. The term for copyright protection after the author's death is extended from 25 to 50 years. The draft also provides for the protection of rights to computer, satellite and cable television programs.

Commission for Royal Family Reburial Detailed

LD2607203589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Excerpts] A public commission in Moscow is working for a proper burial of the last Russian tsars. The commission was set up to uncover and identify the supposed remains of the royal family members and here are the details. [passage omitted]

The first authentic information about the Romanovs' death was given this last April by the weekly MOSCOW NEWS. Then a public commission began to work in a small private apartment on the outskirts of Moscow. It has since opening apartments in Leningrad and Murmansk. The commission is headed by the Higher Deacon Dhionissi [name and title as heard] of the Russian Orthodox Church. He told a Radio Moscow reporter that the Romanovs' burial place has been discovered but their remains are still to be identified. [passage omitted]

Higher Deacon Dhionissi says the main goal of the commission is to have the tsarist family buried according to Christian traditions. Messages have been sent to Mikhail Gorbachev, the queen of England, the queen of Denmark and the king of Spain, asking for every kind of moral support to the commission. Also an appeal to this effect has been made to the Soviet nation. According to Higher Deacon Dhionissi, the appeal has already been signed by more than 7,000 people, including Communist Party members. Whatever motives are cited to justify the execution of the royal family, he says, moral norms require that their remains be properly buried.

This was a report on the work of the public commission set up to uncover and identify the remains of the Russian royal family.

Economic

Statistics on Food Sales, Prices First 5 Months

18270118 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 2

[Consumer report edited by Academician S. Shatalin: "What and How Much"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics conducted an investigation on prices of agricultural products on the markets of 264 cities of the country. The average volume of food sales on the markets during the first 5 months of 1989 increased by 6 percent as compared to the same period of last year, and prices increased by 4 percent.

We shall give certain results of this investigation.

Food Products	Sold January-May 1989		Average Prices in May 1989		For Comparison: State Retail Prices in Zone II (in rubles)
	Thousands of Tonnes	In % of January-May 1988	In rubles	In % of January-May 1988	
Potatoes	206.5	96	0.93	115	0.1
Fresh cabbage	44.8	98	1.29	110	0.3
Large onions	38.5	94	0.95	106	0.5
Beets	10.1	99.1	1.08	128	0.15
Carrots	39.1	102	0.97	107	0.3
Fresh cucumbers	10.2	122	2.97	109	2.5
Fresh tomatoes	7.0	160	5.92	94	3
Apples	111.6	105	3.82	100	1.5
Beef	15.8	88	5.27	106	2
Mutton	1.8	109	5.53	104	1.9
Pork	31.0	100.9	4.88	105	2.1
Animal fat	0.2	83	7.95	99.6	3.6

Agricultural

Proposed State Prices for Farm Goods Criticized

18270206 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 3

[Report on a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Agrarian Policy Questions prepared by the department of economics of SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "Prices—The Mainstay of the Economic Mechanism"]

[Text] Everything that fills our table and the shelves of grocery shops is acquired by the hard labor of peasants. Only the person farming the land alone knows the genuine price of the grain grown, the cotton gathered, potatoes, meat, and milk. However, the administrative-command machine has surprisingly usurped the right to set the prices for agricultural products. It has deprived the peasant of the right to dispose of the products of his labor and set the price for his products. The official is still in command....

How is this injustice to be rectified? What should the new procurement prices be for crop, animal husbandry, and other farm products? Recently, this question has been the focus of attention of our public, party, state, and economic organs. This was also the topic of discussion at a regular meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Agrarian Policy Questions chaired by member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Central Committee Secretary Ye.K. Ligachev. Participants of the meeting discussed two items: "On Proposals for New State Procurement Prices for Agricultural Products Developed On the Basis of Requirements of the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum" and "On the Course of Compiling the Plan for the Socio-Economic Development of the Agroindustrial Complex for 1990."

Those assembled discussed the first item with much interest. After all, prices are the mainstay of the economy. They either promote or impede growth of the manufacturing of products, quality improvements, and cost reductions. The level of prices and the material, technical, and economic prerequisites in the plan for the future determine to a large degree the development of economically accountable and leasing arrangements, the accomplishments of science and technology, as well as the course of social development in rural areas. It is impossible to attain the goals of perestroyka, implement new methods of economic operations, and form the socialist market in the absence of a reform of prices and the entire system of price-setting.

Deputy Chairman of the USSR Goskomtsen [State Committee for Prices] A.A. Krasnopivtsev, President of the VASKHNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin] A.A. Nikonov, AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Secretary, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Agro-industrial Complex Employees M.B. Ryzhikov made reports on the first item.

The proposed restructuring of procurement prices is based on the concept of the new economic mechanism of the APK [Agro-industrial Complex] approved by the CPSU Central Committee, said A.A. Krasnopivtsev. In the draft, the concept of reinforcing the element of centralization in price setting along with a more flexible use of state contract and independently set prices is implemented.

The draft submitted envisages the application of the cost control approach. However, in the opinion of the speaker, this principle sometimes runs into direct opposition by some management employees. Instead of restoring to the price the role of the most significant economic norm, the yardstick of value of products, they defend the present system of procurement prices which may be manipulated out of the context of socially necessary costs of production.

The roots of this position are understandable. After all, the current prices are a component of the economic mechanism which we have very precisely called the mechanism of slowdown. These prices have rendered good services to directive-based planning in natural units, when the farms were made to turn out products whatever the price. While handling the issue of equalizing the economic environment for operations, we inconspicuously arrived at leveling which is harmful in this matter. We began to reimburse individual production costs through prices and bonuses regardless of the level of economic operations. Price bonuses have exceeded what is reasonably admissible.

We are moved by reductions in the number of farms with slim profit margins even when this is not by caused by an increased output of products, continued A.A. Krasnopivtsev. Frequently, the state pays more in cases when the self-cost is higher. This does not promote a more rational areal distribution of production. The draft envisages a substantial reduction in the number of price zones with a view to making the prices cost-suppressive in nature. It is expected to set prices in such a manner as to provide for the return of costs and necessary profits in regions located in comparatively worse environments.

The abandonment of the cost-based principle and the expansion of zones, explained A.A. Krasnopivtsev, objectively bring about a reduction in the profitability of farms which have high producer costs and an increase in the number of farms operating at a loss and with low profit margins. In the opinion of the speaker, this is a manifestation of the active role of new prices which prompt the farms to search for reserves in increasing the efficiency of production.

The great dispersion of farms turning out commercial products is a heavy burden for the economy of the country. At times, producer costs come up to incredible levels. To be sure, certain things do not depend on the farms. Some devices for supporting the economics of those who experience hardship through no fault of their own are needed. For example, in the event of a loss of profit due to unfavorable weather conditions we have a system of insurance in the amount of 70 percent of the harvest not gathered. Rent payments are expected to be introduced simultaneously with the new prices with a view to equalizing the economic opportunity of farms on different types of land.

In resolving the issues of price setting we should take into account the general economic situation which has emerged, said A.A. Nikonov in his speech. What is this situation marked by? First, there still is no clear-cut program and even concept of overcoming the most grave financial crisis which the country is facing. It is not clear where wholesale prices for industrial goods will lead us. New forms of economic operations have thus far been blocked by old instructions and all elements of the administrative-command system at all levels. The farms are forced to go looking, to squeeze things out, to humiliate themselves, and pay an arm and a leg in order not to bring production to a halt.

In the opinion of the speaker, the draft submitted contains many positive, progressive features. However, it has so many drawbacks, and they are so major that the Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Issues and Foodstuffs was compelled to reject it at its meeting, suggesting that it be radically reworked. What is the essence of the drawbacks? First, the volume of all payments is restricted to the quota which has actually emerged. The forthcoming increase in wholesale prices for the means of production will inevitably cause increases in outlays, the cost of assets, and current spending. This will bring about the lack of equilibrium. Second, expanding the scope of contract prices, while on the whole a progressive pursuit, may put the farms in a very difficult situation in the absence of protective prices. All of this must be tied to the system of tax collection, credit provision, and planning. The economically weak farms, as well as those operating in a worse natural and economic environment, may suffer. The issue of cancelling debts which have emerged in the environment of non-equivalent appropriation of farm products is being wrongly passed over in silence.

Taking the above into account, says A.A. Nikonov, one cannot agree with the draft submitted. What is to be done? Let us look at the experience of the world. Every country has its own approaches. They take into account the economic situation, natural conditions, ties to the world market, and many other factors. However, an attentive and careful attitude toward the needs of rural areas and the peasantry and protection of their interests through both pricing arrangements and other economic devices and incentives are characteristic of absolutely all countries, both socialist and capitalist. Thus far, this has not been implemented consistently in our country.

Price setting in both the socialist and capitalist countries is based on the actual cost under the worst conditions. Prices are regulated by the state. There are centralized, state, contract, and protective prices. The levels of prices are strictly differentiated according to qualitative characteristics. Those operating under worse conditions are given state budgetary subsidies and reductions in the profit land tax or total exemptions. Land reclamation work and social development are financed. In a word, not everything is accomplished through prices; the entire array of economic devices is used.

The speaker suggested that the equivalence of exchange and stable development conditions for the APK sector be ensured as much as possible on the basis of economically justified price setting, preventing further differentiation, and giving incentives for specialization and cost control. Simultaneously with prices, all other forms of economic influence in combination should be envisaged, including rent payments and special-purpose budget payments.

In the draft submitted, said M.B. Ryzhikov, there is a statement that the abandonment of cost-based principles of price setting will bring about a certain increase in the number of kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and processing industry enterprises operating at a loss. Technically all of this may be correct. However, what is going to happen to these collectives? After all, there are people in them. Everything in this matter must be weighed. After all, in this manner a reduction in the standard of living of the population might be brought on, especially that of low-income people. Continuous increases in the prices for industrial products and other material resources are a significant issue of principle. Yesterday I met with several directors of sovkhozes who said that the payments for electricity are going up considerably. What kind of priority for the development of the APK is it when even now the farms are being forced to sign fettering contracts for the use of electricity beginning 1 January of next year?

Following the keynote reports, a lively exchange of views began.

The document submitted cannot be accepted in this form by any means, said First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev. The draft of new procurement prices reduces the profits of the republic APK by 540 million rubles. The prices provide little incentive for the quality of products. For example, bonuses for hard wheat are reduced. According to the most conservative estimates, the republic loses 300 million rubles by virtue of this alone. The production of protein feed is becoming extremely unprofitable. The prices proposed strike a particularly hard blow at animal husbandry. Two hundred and ten specialized meat and dairy farms of the republic may face poor financial conditions. Six hundred and thirty specialized sheep farms may find themselves in a particularly difficult situation.

The draft submitted does not take into account conditions for agricultural production in various natural and climatic zones. For example, under the conditions of Kazakhstan, when one oblast extends 1,200 kilometers from north to south, several zones are found. For us, the zones should be established by the republic Council of Ministers.

The issue of expediency of extending new procurement prices to products purchased from personal plots should be considered separately. The speaker suggested that the republics be given the right to set procurement prices themselves within the confines of the funds assigned. It would be expedient to delay the revision of procurement prices until we fully develop leasing.

First Secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee] B.M. Volodin analyzed the situation which may emerge in the oblast if the new procurement prices are applied. The group of farms with profitability levels above 55 percent will be reduced by almost one-half. The number of farms with low profitability margins and those operating at a loss, of which there are only six at present, will increase by a factor of more than 20. All the 30 broiler poultry farms, all fine fleece production will become unprofitable.

If we were to look at the new procurement prices, noted the speaker, the profitability in sheep-breeding regions supposedly is to go up by 22 percent. However, in the process producer costs go up by 24.4 percent. Hog breeding will also become unprofitable. In the opinion of B.M. Volodin, the draft submitted cannot be accepted. For example, it is not clear how the prices in consumer cooperatives are going to be set. The Goskomtsen should give serious thought to improving prices in industry. Why should all price increases in industry be settled at the expense of the peasant? Look at what happens at present: They make some part, determine self-cost, then add to it the amount of profitability sought, and say that this is the price. In agriculture, it happens the other way around: First, we set the prices, and then we tell them: Go look for a way out.

First Secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom A.F. Ponomarev noted that the draft prices cannot stand up to any criticism. In many instances, they do not correspond to the requirements of the March CPSU Central Committee plenum. The proposed price level will not ensure for the farms of the oblast the maintenance of payments which emerged last year, and will bring about the unjustified appropriation of almost 100,000 million rubles from the toilers of rural areas. The issue of what to do arises. Should the collectives which are working at present be underpaid, or should the investment in the social development of rural areas be reduced? We cannot afford either. It is not understandable why the farms of even the same Central-Chernozem Region happened to be in different price zones. Why did the Goskomtsen do it? Because it was guided by cost-based principles. We still have not abandoned this principle of price setting. In the opinion of the speaker, it would be worthwhile to return to this issue once again, so that every republic would submit its proposals for setting up price zones. It is all right that somewhat more of them may turn up than the draft designates now. However, they will correspond better to the natural, climatic, and economic conditions of regions. Maybe, we should even go as far as giving the oblast or republic a price quota. The region will make up its own mind as to what to provide incentives for and how.

First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] G.V. Kulik stated in his speech that the draft decree on new prices considerably reduces payments to the farms of the Non-Chernozem Area. In his opinion, the amount of proceeds which has emerged in the republic needs to be maintained. The economies of regions need to be put on an equal footing through bonuses rather than by, say, taking something away in Krasnodar Kray and giving it to someone else. It is difficult to subscribe to the Goskomtsen point of view, which builds on this the draft decree and passes it off as

new approaches to price-setting. Such price-setting policy brings about a reduction in the profitability of our animal husbandry: With regard to beef, for example, this indicator in the Russian Federation stands at 34 percent at present, but it may fall to 18 percent.

The proposals submitted by the Goskomtsen, said First Secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom V.K. Mesyats, are unacceptable, because they are worse than the ones currently in force. Many enough examples have already been quoted which show that, if the proposed procurement prices for agricultural products are introduced now, we will embark in this manner on undermining the Food Program unwittingly. For example, dairy cattle breeding, which uses considerable amounts of mixed feed begins to generate low profits under the new prices. This indicator is reduced by 14 percent. The losses on mixed feed alone will come to about 300 million rubles. As a result of this price policy, every farm will lose about 500,000 rubles a year on the average. Moscow Oblast may find itself in the gravest situation. Any self-financing and self-capitalization are out of the question. The financial situation will deteriorate on more than one-half of farms, and 28 of them will begin to operate at a loss. The speaker supported the suggestion to empower the regions to set up climatic zones themselves. In his opinion, it is also expedient to give the ispolkoms [executive committees] the right to set procurement prices themselves on the basis of local conditions. It is necessary to resolve the issue of compensating for the difference between the procurement and retail prices for the products sold in state trade outlets, since the draft of new procurement prices does not affect retail prices.

First Secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom [kray party committee] I.K. Polozkov said in his speech that there is no way to go along with the draft submitted by the Goskomtsen. It has been developed out of the context of needs of the agro-industrial complex and the contemporary agrarian policy which has been set forth in the resolutions of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The objective of the draft is not to improve but to exacerbate the situation in agriculture. Specialists of Krasnodar Kray have calculated that the profitability of farms will amount to 33.9 percent on the average. At this level, it is altogether impossible to carry on expanded reproduction given the neglect for the social sphere of agriculture. This means that the comrades who prepared this draft have taken the old beaten path. They took actual costs as the base, and derived from this new prices. Why is this happening? The budget needs the money, and the Ministry of Finance together with the Goskomtsen have come up with them. At whose expense? At the expense of the agro-industrial complex. In Krasnodar Kray, the profit in dairy production will be reduced by 69 million rubles according to the draft new prices, and the level of profitability will decline from 63.9 to 37.8 percent. This statistic for sugar beets will decline to 19 percent. The new prices will make about 100 farms operate at a loss, whereas at present there is not a single kolkhoz or sovkhoz losing money in the kray. This price policy, noted I.K. Polozkov, will destroy even what has already taken shape. This is why we cannot be hasty with regard to this issue.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia S.K. Grossu noted that the Goskomtsen proposal envisages raising prices for all kinds of agricultural products. In the case of Moldavia, additions to the prices of agricultural products come to about a billion rubles. This amounts to at least 33 percent of bonuses on the products which the APK of the republic produces at present. This is a tremendous incentive for the farms. Approximately 90 percent of them will have good bonuses. Main producers of output stand to win from the new prices. The proposals for new procurement prices should definitely be considered together with the prices for industrial products in order to maintain the equivalent exchange between urban and rural areas. The new price document will not work as it is supposed to if we do not carry out the adjustment in retail prices at the same time.

Chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin in Tula Oblast V.A. Starodubtsev said in his speech that the draft of procurement prices cannot stand up to any criticism. One gets the impression that a very cruel and unfair response has been prepared for the appeal by agrarian deputies to the Congress of People's Deputies. The prices proposed are not coordinated with retail, cooperative, and market prices, and they cannot be accepted for this reason. In this form, they can bring about only one thing: economic imbalance, corruption, and will cause discontent among the populace. V.A. Starodubtsev stressed that procurement prices cannot be handled in a serious manner until fair prices for industrial products are established, until we sort out prices in the market and in retail trade. Until now, the peasants have had one advantage out of one hundred which the working class and the intelligentsia have. They have not been paying income tax. Now Goskomtsen is trying to take away this small advantage. The peasantry will simply not understand us if such a document is approved.

First Secretary of the Orel CPSU Obkom Ye.S. Stroyev noted that the draft new prices create a difficult situation in agriculture. In recent years, vigorous growth of the output of animal husbandry and crop farming has begun in conjunction with the transition to economic accountability in Russia. The people have felt hopeful, the self-cost of production has begun to go down, volumes of production have been growing, and the situation in the consumer market has been improving. The proposed Goskomtsen draft again sets back the rural areas.

Ye.S. Stroyev noted: "I do not know why Comrade Grossu comes out so vigorously in favor of the new prices. It could be that they are indeed fitting for the conditions of Moldavia. However, the Goskomtsen draft cannot satisfy the Non-Chernozem Zone. The nature here is splendid for both meat and milk production. But why is such a mine being placed under the economy of this region in the form of the new prices? It is difficult for

the peasants, the funds are short. The farms of the oblast would do two or three times more construction, but there is a shortage of funds even for current operations. A deficit of about 100 million rubles has emerged. At the same time, industry has 120 million rubles in spare funds. They do not know what to do with them."

After a break, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] P.I. Mostovoy took the floor. He stated his attitude toward the issues of agrarian policy and talked about the measures undertaken in order to improve the supply of everything necessary to rural areas, including fuel and lubricants and spare parts for the harvesting machinery. Referring to the balanced nature of plans for the 1990, he offered assurances that the Gossnab will fully provide all the necessary resources for the growth rates which will be planned for as soon as next year, and their deliveries will continuously run ahead of schedule.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] V.V. Sakalauskas proposed not to hurry with adopting the draft of new prices. In his opinion, it is not the relative profitability, but the absolute mass of profit per unit of product that should be the main criterion in determining the level of procurement prices. He also noted that the prices for the products of crop farming are clearly being set too high at the expense of products of animal husbandry. In Lithuania, animal husbandry accounts for 90 percent of the entire commercial product of agriculture. It is necessary to solve the problem of price setting in a comprehensive manner. We should begin by establishing equivalent exchange between agriculture and other sectors of the national economy and controlling these proportions.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia A.M. Masaliyev expressed his disagreement with approaches to the development of new prices without taking into account the peculiarities of agricultural land in various regions. He quoted an entire array of cases when price zones were drawn without taking into account the realistic potential of the republics and areas included in a particular zone. The speaker agreed with the proposals to work out an alternative variant of the draft new prices.

Having analyzed the impact of new procurement prices on the profitability of farms, Chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni S.M. Kirov in Kherson Oblast D.K. Motornyy, in his capacity as chairman of the republic Council of Kolkhozes, concluded that at the 1990 procurement level, about 700 million rubles will be lacking for maintaining the level of profitability attained in the republic. Besides, as he sees it, dissimilar economic conditions are created for farms situated in similar natural-climatic conditions, but belonging to different administrative regions. For example, in the Polesye Zone of the Ukraine conditions for the production of agricultural output are similar to those in Belorussia, whereas the price levels proposed are different. The same is the case for the foothill and mountain regions of the Ukraine and the Caucasus. The introduction of new procurement prices for agricultural products proposed in the draft will not only fail to eliminate the unfairness in interregional price distribution, but will exacerbate it. A paradoxical situation emerges: With the self-cost of production being lower, the profitability in the Ukraine is the lowest among all republics. New procurement prices for agricultural products must be introduced simultaneously with new wholesale and retail prices. There is no other way. If we are going to procrastinate for another 2 years, for which it has been promised to the people that retail prices will not go up, it will be even more difficult for us.

For example, I would go for an experiment, said D.K. Motornyy. I would suggest to the economically powerful farms to provide retirement benefits for their employees on the condition that these farms will settle with the state only per cost of a hectare of land. The Ministry of Finance will not have to think up ways of squeezing money from kolkhozes and sovkhozes in order to increase retirement benefits to the peasants.

The speaker called for not promising "the repayment of the debt," for not offending the rural population for, say, 5 years at a minimum, and just giving it what it is due. Even now under the respectable pretext of of giving kolkhoz members equal rights with the urban population it is expected that kolkhoz members will pay income tax just as everyone else. This is advantageous for the financiers only. Kolkhoz members do not need such "aid." In his opinion, the new procurement prices were formed in this same manner: Add several kopecks for a liter of milk, and several rubles per sack of cement. The economic manager has to pay a 10-fold fine for over-the-quota consumption of electricity the price of which is increasing 3-fold. In turn, measures which would indeed help the peasant are being sabotaged.

First Secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom V.I. Kalashnikov put forth several specific proposals aimed at a comprehensive recovery in the agro-industrial complex. He supported the previous speaker in that the supply of foodstuffs to the populace cannot be improved without touching the retail prices. He also stated his concern over the gap between low state and cooperative prices. He talked about the influence of the oblast Soviet Ispolkom [Executive Committee] which regulates cooperative prices within optimal confines. Cooperatives are deprived of the right to purchase meat from the populace, whereas the farms are interested in developing the individual sector. They provide younger animals and fodder for personal farmsteads, and the meat procured is counted toward their plan fulfillment; the quotas of bonuses for overfulfilling the plan grow.

The speaker sharply criticized spending for land reclamation, which is unjustified and does not take the peculiarities of the oblast into account, as well as the simultaneous lack of funds for the financial recovery of

kolkhozes and sovkhozes. If their debts are not going to be cancelled, the issues of implementing leasing in rural areas will not be resolved either. Debts and low procurement prices impede the establishment of a master on the land. He is not in a position to buy out fixed assets. V.I. Kalashnikov believes that the solvency of lessees may be improved by giving up the purchases of grain for human consumption abroad and channeling the hard-currency funds into stimulating its production inside the country. The draft of new procurement prices submitted for consideration to the commission is the fruit of working in the office, said the speaker. He proposed to differentiate prices with the participation of oblasts. There will be fewer mistakes in this event.

First Secretary of the Kalinin Party Obkom N.F. Tatarchuk likewise showed that the draft proposed is divorced from reality. If it were to be applied in the oblast, out of 700 farms 229 will be operating at a loss, and in 318 profitability will be under 25 percent. At the same time, grassroots proposals for resolving the key issues of the oblast have not been taken into account, as if someone has been trying to deliberately drive the kolkhozes and sovkhozes into a corner and to prevent the peasant from getting on his feet. In the absence of mutual coordination between firm wholesale prices for products which the rural population is going to buy from industry, set for a 5-year plan, and the procurement prices for agricultural products the peasants are not going to be confident that they will receive the profits planned, and will be able to introduce economic accountability and self-financing. In summation, he justified the need to cancel the debts of farms due to loans.

Director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Economics V.R. Boyev said that the priority of the agro-industrial complex is acknowledged only in slogans, whereas a genuine foundation for reinforcing the economic base of agriculture has not been created. The proposed draft of new procurement prices does not bring us closer to the goal. It does not take into account changes in costs which will occur as soon as next year. We should experiment more courageously, we should accumulate experience, and look for alternative variants.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia Ye.Ye. Sokolov stressed that the social inequality of the worker and the peasant is apparent in everything, including prices for industrial goods and foodstuffs in rural and urban trade outlets and the living conditions. Without solving this problem, we cannot count on agricultural products being cheap. Their high self-cost is being "jacked up" by the cost of everything that is found in rural territories, including schools, hospitals, clubs, and roads. So why should not a kolkhoz or sovkhoz be placed in a situation similar to a plant? Why doesn't the plant pay for the street, the sidewalk, the trees planted on the sidewalk, hospitals, and clinics? It doesn't pay for anything that is not situated on its territory—not the streetcars, buses, or trolley buses—whereas a kolkhoz pays for everything. Hence the prices. Now they have come up with a new tax even on horsepower. Given this approach, said Ye.Ye. Sokolov, nothing sound will come out of it no matter how long we spend in session here. We should begin by eliminating social inequality. This is the very root of all distortions.

Chairman of the kolkhoz "Leninskaya iskra" from the Chuvash ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Social Republic] A.P. Aydak believes that hard-currency incentives should be provided not only for the production of hard wheat but any agricultural output sold above the average level of the past 3 to 5 years. This is a tremendous reserve for weak farms.

Chief economist of the sovkhoz imeni Manshuk Mametova in Tselinograd Oblast V.V. Shvets has been handling the issues of intrafarm prices for 27 years now. He is convinced that nothing will come out of lease contracts without changes in the system of price setting. Certainly, everyone has his own view of lease contracts, but still the price system is the base. It is impossible to work without it under the new conditions.

The prices are one of the impediments. No matter how large the Goskomtsen of the country is, even it works 24 hours a day, it will never solve the problem alone because every collective farm and every lessee should have his own price. Can the price really be set from the center? The Goskomtsen should transfer this function to the republics, the republics to the oblasts, the oblasts to the rayons, the rayons to the kolkhozes, and the kolkhozes to the individual lessees. Only then will all costs be taken into account specifically, and the price will be perfect. It will replace the entire bulk of norms.

In the course of exchanging their views, members of the commission and the speakers stressed that creating a mutually coordinated system of prices for the products of the agro-industrial complex which prompts all its elements to attain high final results is not only very significant from the socio-economic point of view, but also is an important political instrument. All of them arrived at the common opinion: Prices are the focal issue of the new economic mechanism.

Those speaking at the meeting analyzed critically the measures proposed in the draft with a view to providing incentives for the growth of agricultural production and its rational utilization.

The recommendation was voiced to continue work on the new state procurement prices for agricultural products. The objective is to coordinate them more closely with other components of the new economic mechanism of operations in the agro-industrial complex, ensure the equivalence of exchange between the agrarian and other sectors of the national economy, and create the necessary conditions for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to operate profitably on the basis of complete economic accountability and self-financing. Using convincing examples,

participants of the meeting argued that it is necessary to conduct extensive work in order for the new prices to promote the increased production of high-quality and ecologically pure output.

Taking into account the fact that prices are a complicated and delicate economic mechanism, the commission concluded that it is necessary to work out alternative proposals concerning the new prices, verify in 1990 their efficiency in individual republics, krays, and oblasts by virtue of an experiment, and subsequently resolve the issue of their extensive implementation in the agro-industrial complex of the country proceeding from the experience accumulated.

Deputy Chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] P.A. Paskar made a report on the second item. He said that the development of draft plan for 1990 is proceeding in keeping with the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which have set forth the policy of increasing the role and responsibility of local organs for the matter of foodstuffs supply to the populace. The draft is built on the basis of proposals by individual oblasts, krays, and republics. In the process of devising the plan, a majority of them strove to define the volume of production as much as possible, and ensure a balance between it and the material and technical resources, proceeding from the fact that 1990 is going to be the plan base for the new 5-year plan. The degree of balance between the draft plan and material resources is one of its aspects which are important in principle.

The speaker stressed that in the process of compiling the plan particular attention was paid to enhancing mutual product deliveries, increasing the efficiency of production in the environment of enterprise operations under complete economic accountability and self-financing, improvement of the economic mechanism, and extensive implementation of leasing and contracts.

Discussing the draft plan, members of the commission addressed in a serious manner its weak points. In particular, the lack of balance between the volumes of production and the material, technical, and financial resources was noted. On many indicators, the draft was allowed to deviate from the 5-year plan, including an unjustified reduction in the commissioning of food industry enterprises.

The speakers stated suggestions aimed at revealing the necessary reserves and opportunities for the growth of agro-industrial production in the process of further work on the plan. In particular, it was suggested to attain the level of the 5-year plan on all major indicators in 1990, achieve the enhancement of the volume of fodstuffs, and, ultimately, improve the supply of foodstuffs to the populace.

Agricultural Developments for 22-28 Jul Reported

LD2907030989

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR broadcast by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 22-28 July, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

22 July

The collective and state farms of Krasnodar Kray have now sold the state more than 2 million tonnes of grain. Most of it consists of strong and valuable varieties. (0900)

A fine harvest has been grown in Kherson Oblast. Its farms have now delivered more than 1 million tonnes of grain crops. (1300)

The harvesting of sugar beet for seed has started in the Chu valley. This year 8,500 hectares has been sown to this crop, and not less than 12 quintels per hectares is sought. (1330)

23 July

In Kirghiziya, the collective and state farms of Oshskaya Oblast are harvesting 50 quintals and more grain per hectare. (0600)

24 July

From the town of Sinelnikovo, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast: Together with the Ukrainian crop farmers, Georgian machine operators completed the harvesting of grain here today. Envoys of Gurdzhaani Rayon, Georgia, have been working in the fields here. In turn, the local grain growers have decided to send a portion of their above-plan grain to Georgia's crop farmers, whose fields suffered from drought this year. (0905)

Ten million tonnes of the newly harvested grain has been delievered to reception enterprises of the Ukraine. Eighty percent is winter wheat. In many rayons 50 quintals of grain per hectare were harvested. (1300)

25 July

No fileworthy items monitored

26 July

Harvesting of early grain crops and pulses has ended in Zaporozhye Oblast. The average yield was 35.5 quintals per hectare on an area of 740,000 hectares. On the winter wheat area of more than 500,000 hectares the average yield was 41 quintals per hectare. More than 1 million tonnes of grain have been sold to the state to date, 72 percent of which are strong and valuable varieties. (1500)

Rain is hindering the harvest in Stavropol Kray. Grain crops have been threshed on 75 percent of the area. The yield is more than 30 quintals per hectare of wheat, almost all strong and valuable. However, a lot of it is lying in the open: The elevators are full because the railways are not providing enough transport. (1500)

27 July

No fileworthy items monitored

28 July

Tula Oblast today sold the first 200,000 tonnes of grain to the state. (0204)

Winter and spring grain crops have now been threshed on half a million hectares in the Ryazan nonchernozem zone—more than half of the total. (0204)

Grain crops have been cut on more than 180,000 hectares in Moldavia. Threshing has been completed on 140,000 hectares. So far 60,000 tonnes have been sold. (0600)

Grain harvesting has begun in Orenburg Oblast, where the harvest is expected to exceed last year's by at least 1 million [unit not specified]. The farms intend to produce 400,000 tonnes of assorted hard wheats. Under cultivation for the first time in the oblast is the high-yield variety of hard wheat known as "Orenburgskaya-10," which was developed locally. [Moscow Television Service in Russian, 0700]

In Poltava Oblast the plan for sales of early grain crops to the state has been fulfilled. Yields of winter wheat were 47 quintals per hectare and, in some rayons, even 80 and more quintals. There is a shortage of reliable storage facilities in the rayons. More than 250,000 tonnes of Poltava grain are waiting to be unloaded. [Moscow Television Service in Russian, 0900]

In Kazakhstan today the first tillage of the fallows has been completed. The republic's fallows amount to 5 million hectares. Over the whole of that area, weeds have been destroyed and mineral fertilizer applied to the soil. (1000)

Grain Harvest Progress Reported

18240205 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 1

[Articles by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondents Yu. Semenenko in Krasnodar, entitled "The Wheat Is Hardy"; S. Timofeyev in Groznyy, entitled, "The Course Is the Elevator!"; and A. Katkalov in Voronezh, entitled "The Good Field"; written 12 July]

[Text]

The Wheat Is Hardy.

Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of the Kuban sell the state 100,000 metric tons of grain daily. And in total, over 800,000 metric tons of grain have been accepted. Over 650,000 metric tons have been prepared, including 600,000 metric tons of hardy and valuable grain. The greatest quantity of high-quality grain came from the Bryukhovetskiy Rayon, over 50,000 tons. Practically all the wheat here meets hardy wheat standards. Working day and night, drivers deliver up to 8,000 metric tons of grain to the elevator daily. Such productivity has never yet been achieved in the rayon.

"The harvest of cereal and legume crops in the rayon is nearing its end," A. Petrik, first deputy secretary of the rayon party committee, said, "Having raised a good harvest, kolkhoz and sovkhoz toilers decided to fulfill the grain sale plan primarily with wheat of high baking quality."

The Course Is the Elevator!

A "green light" has been provided for the vehicles carrying the new grain harvest in the Checheno-Ingush area. They delivered the first thousands of metric tons of grain to the grain collection points today. The farmers of Nadterechnyy, Naurskiy, and Groznenskiy Rayons were exemplary at the harvest.

The Good Field

One of the southernmost rayons of the oblast, Bogucharskiy Rayon, now has much grain. As its leaders assert, even in the earliest days of the harvest, the first grain output averaged 30 quintals per hectare. The rayon's farms harmoniously conduct the harvest and sale of grain to the state.

Practically all of the oblast's rayons are engaged in massive reaping. Harvest of peas, winter wheat, and barley is under way. And, in order to save precious time, anticipating harvest losses, many farms are gathering crops by various means, in addition to straightforward harvesting. Over 200,000 hectares of cereals have already been harvested.

Stavropol Harvest Progress Report

18240209 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent S. Timofeyev: "The Stavropol Million"]

[Excerpts] **The farmers of Stavropol poured the first million metric tons of grain into the state grain bins. Over 94 percent of it is hardy and valuable wheat. This report came to the editorial board yesterday. Thousands of combine operators, drivers, machine operators, and grain elevator workers maintained a 24-hour watch. To the attention of the Ministry of Railways—give the territory enough cars for unloading the wheat from the elevators!**

Budennovskiy Rayon, the largest in Stavropol had the first glowing crimson star; its farms fulfilled the plan order for sale of 121,000 metric tons of wheat and continue to supplement that total. Even old-timers cannot recall such a harvest from the arid Prikumya steppes. Every hectare of the "Komsomolets" and "Kalininskiy" kolkhozes [collective farms] is yielding 40 quintals of grain. The average for this rayon is over 30.

There are 3,700 people harvesting on the farms, including 740 communists and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members. There are over 600 combines working in harvest units and systems, including 80 "Don" models. At the same time, thousands of tractor units are clearing the stubble and plowing up the semi-fallow land. Never before have 20,000 hectares of semi-fallow land been prepared for winter crop sowing by mid-July. Seed is being cleaned and fertilizers transported at an accelerated rate. Grain in excess of the plan is coming from the "Prikumskiy," "Starodubskiy," "Znamya Truda," "Terskiy" and other sovkhozes [state farms]. [passage omitted]

The Stavropol harvest is at it zenith. The flow of grain to the elevators and the threshing floor grows with each passing hour. There is a real possibility of a gross grain harvest of 5.5 million metric tons. People understand this and are working indefatigably, trying to ensure a precise conveyer rhythm: field—threshing floor—elevator. The combine operators thresh the harvest from 100,000 hectares daily. More than 300,000 metric tons of grain are being delivered to the mechanized threshing floor, and 106,000-110,000 metric tons are delivered to the state, primarily hardy and valuable wheat. But here is trouble: The elevators are filled with grain, but the Ministry of Railways provides ten times fewer cars for loading than are needed. There is the threat of spoilage of this most valuable product.

Military

TU-160 Long-Range Bomber 'Inconvenient To Service'

PM3107134989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondent I. Andreyev "Reportage From a Secret Long-Range Aviation Airfield": "It Is Difficult To Be 'God'"]

[Text] Our latest long-range bomber, the TU-160, was shown to journalists, and not only to military journalists. It was presented with previously unimaginable frankness and trust. There were only rare requests not to photograph something giving an indication of the aircraft's strike power. This is understandable—this is not just military technology, it is combat technology with an awesome crippling power.

This exquisite and completely white machine (despite its NATO codename "Blackjack"), with hardly distinguishable identification signs on its fin, really soars—smoothly and gracefully—rather than simply lifting off from the runway. There is something glider-like and light in the behavior of the enormous 275-tonne bomber capable of operating thousands and thousands of kilometers away from its home airfield.

Our guide for the TU-160 was someone who is thoroughly familiar with the machine—right from the very first conceptual drawings—and who did a lot for its creation [sozdaniye] and it.. arrival in the army: Major General Vladimir Yegorovich Yegorov, chief Long-Range Aviation navigator. Concealing nothing, he showed us the crew's workplaces, sat many of us in the pilots' seats, and described the aircraft's combat and navigational potential. Unfortunately, the time has not yet come to acquaint readers with this. I will cite, extremely approximately, the cost of a single TU-160: Tens of millions of rubles. An impressive amount, which prompts anything but bravura....

Destructive power concentrated in the weapons it carries, coupled with the carrier's gracefulness... Responsibility for the fate of millions of people living in places where the TU-160's flightpaths lead, coupled with the obvious youthfulness of all four crew members... The "incongruity" of sensations proved typical of this official trip to one of the Long-Range Aviation bases.

Once they land after an hours-long mission over one-half of the planet, the masters of these most complex and terrifying machines seem to leave behind all their attributes of masterfulness. Take off the helmet and flight suit—and the airman is back in the world we all know, with its disorganized daily life, sundry shortages, and vague and alarming prospects for the future. I am sure that I would not be insulting the airmen's traditional loyalty to their vocation if I were to mention the "sum total" that their labor is worth. R300-400 in their hand every month—this is the price of flights which exhaust body and mind, and of constant, around the clock readiness for them. Let me make it clear that these are commanders' salaries, which are nonetheless equal to what a bus driver or subway engineer earns. The commander's crew comrades are "worth" even less in money terms. And never mind the technical and other "backup" personnel....

The preparation of a large aircraft involves painstaking and laborious work done beneath the open sky, at any time of the day, night, or year, in fine weather or in desperate frost. We witnessed one TU-160 being prepared for flight, rising like a snow-white mountain above the multiplicity of mechanisms, motor vehicles, and a fuel tanker of gigantic proportions. The noise was infernal, even though the bomber's "power plants" were still silent. Everyone, from private to senior officers, said how difficult and inconvenient it is to service the machine. It has been designed as if, once it leaves the plant, its parts, components, and fittings would never be touched by army technicians' calloused hands. Could it be, I asked, that there is no alternative, that this is the price to be paid for flight perfection? Not at all, I was

told, the design bureau was simply not concerned about this. On the "take it or leave it" principle, they know after all, that this machine is not available anywhere else. The firm is a monopolist in its sphere, and an absolute one at that. And yet, take for example the Ilyushin Il-78, the modification of the famous transport aircraft. It is used as a tanker by the Long-Range Aviation, an airborne refueler. It functions perfectly, it is simple and convenient to service. The designers worked with people in mind—both the pilots and those who prepare the machine for flight.

"The competition for admission to flight schools," USSR Honored Combat Airman Petr Stepanovich Deynekin, commander of Long-Range Aviation, commented with alarm, "is 0.75 persons for every place today. By the time he reaches the age of 35-36, a first-rate airman who has not made his way up to a senior position is already actively looking elsewhere and seeking a 'civilian' job. Having been on active flight service for 10-12 years, a highly skilled specialist whose training has cost the state hundreds and hundreds of thousands of rubles leaves the military aviation."

Or they quit aviation altogether, long-serving airmen cry in unison. Despite a pilot's youth, his health is already gravely undermined... Once again, for the umpteenth time, the human factor is the system's weak link. The only difference is that it is painfully obvious in a job costing billions of rubles. Only too obvious are the scamping and saving of a few hundreds which eventually turns out to require the spending of more and more millions to replenish the thinning ranks of young veterans.

Where is the way out? Has the time come to think about an Armed Forces elite, when the principle of sufficiency in the country's defense is in operation? It is not up to me to judge how badly the long-range, frontline, or fighter aviation is needed, whether or not to curtail the missile-carrying striking fist. I know one thing for sure: It is wasteful to apply the "sufficiency principle" to people who are highly skilled specialists. When will we ever learn to reward skill, experience, and knowledge in whichever sphere of human activity they might be displayed?

...The engines roared and the snow-white TU-160 picturesquely soared above the airfield only to approach it again for landing a few minutes later. In the meantime, these four young and very young guys are gods, real masters of the fifth ocean. For the time being... Until they get back to Earth.

New TU-334 Airliner Highlighted

18290235 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Belikov: "The TU-334: An Aviation Firm Presents a New Airliner"]

[Text]**On 17 July the A.N. Tupolev Special Design Bureau and "Aviaeksport" acquainted the representatives of transport companies and organizations in the socialist countries with the passenger aircraft of the 1990's.**

During the meeting between the oldest aircraft design collective and our business partners and clients who buy aircraft, an entire family of Tupolev airliners was presented—the series-produced, highly economical Tu-154M, the TU-204, which is now undergoing flight testing, and the firm's new aircraft—the 102-seater TU-334 designed to replace the veteran TU-134 which has now been in commercial service for more than 20 years. Naturally, the experts were most interested in the latest of these aircraft, which will fly for the first time next year.

General designer A. Tupolev:
"The TU-334 belongs to the class of so-called 100-seater aircraft designed for medium-haul operations; in other words, for distances up to 2,000 kilometers. These routes are very popular throughout the world, and there are many of them in West Europe and in our country. I recall that the TU-134, which has one-fourth less cabin space, has, since it started operations, carried more than 350 million persons over these kinds of distances.

"The new passenger aircraft has been standardized to the maximum with the TU-204, from flight deck and control systems to undercarriage wheels and the cabin seating. This will make it possible to organize series production quickly and will facilitate crew and ground maintenance crew assimilation.

"The main way in which the two aircraft differ is in terms of the engines. The TU-204 has the same engines as the IL-96 airbus. For the TU-334 it was decided to use the latest D-436T turbofans with a fuel consumption half that of its predecessor in the TU-134.

"In the long term the TU-334 will have even more economical, low-noise turbofan engines that will enable it with the same fuel reserve—10 tons—and the same speed—about 800 kilometers per hour—to carry 24 passengers more while increasing its range by a factor of 1.5."

In conclusion Academician A. Tupolev noted that the degree of comfort in the passenger cabins of the TU-204 and TU-334 is quite comparable since the seating has the same spacing between the rows, the aisles are the same width, and the ceiling height is the same; the compartment space for hand baggage is also the same. In terms of all these parameters the new Soviet aircraft are somewhat better than similar foreign aircraft.

On the following day, 18 July, foreign guests were invited to the test airfield in the city of Zhukovskiy, where general designer G. Novozhilov familiarized them with the long-haul, wide-bodied IL-96, designed to seat 300 passengers. The TU-204 airliner was also inspected.

The opinion of our business partners:

General director of the GDR transport aviation (K. Tsube):
"We have traditionally been oriented on Soviet aircraft and were the first to announce our intention of buying the new-generation aircraft for the Interflug company.

Unfortunately, the designers of your airliners have been delayed in producing them and we have had to acquire two West European A-310 aircraft in order to service our longest routes to Havana, Beijing and Singapore. We would not like the situation to be repeated with the medium-haul aircraft, which we very much need today!"

General representative of the Yugoslav Geneks aviation company in the USSR, (A. Obaydin):

"I totally agree with the opinion that you are losing time, and along with it the potential market for your aircraft, which has recommended itself well. My company, for example, is very interested in the TU-334 aircraft, but in reality it will not be available for several years yet...."

Technical representative of Czechoslovak Airlines in the USSR, (S. Gouba):

Although our aviation industry has developed the L-610 turboprop for routes of 1,000 kilometers or less, this will not hamper use of the TU-334 for many routes in Europe and the TU-204 for routes to the Near East and the Mediterranean countries. All in all, these aircraft will not become obsolete until the turn of the century but they should be flying as soon as possible!"